Ted Kennedy's Battle Against Brain Cancer

Will Michelle Obama Hurt Barack In November?

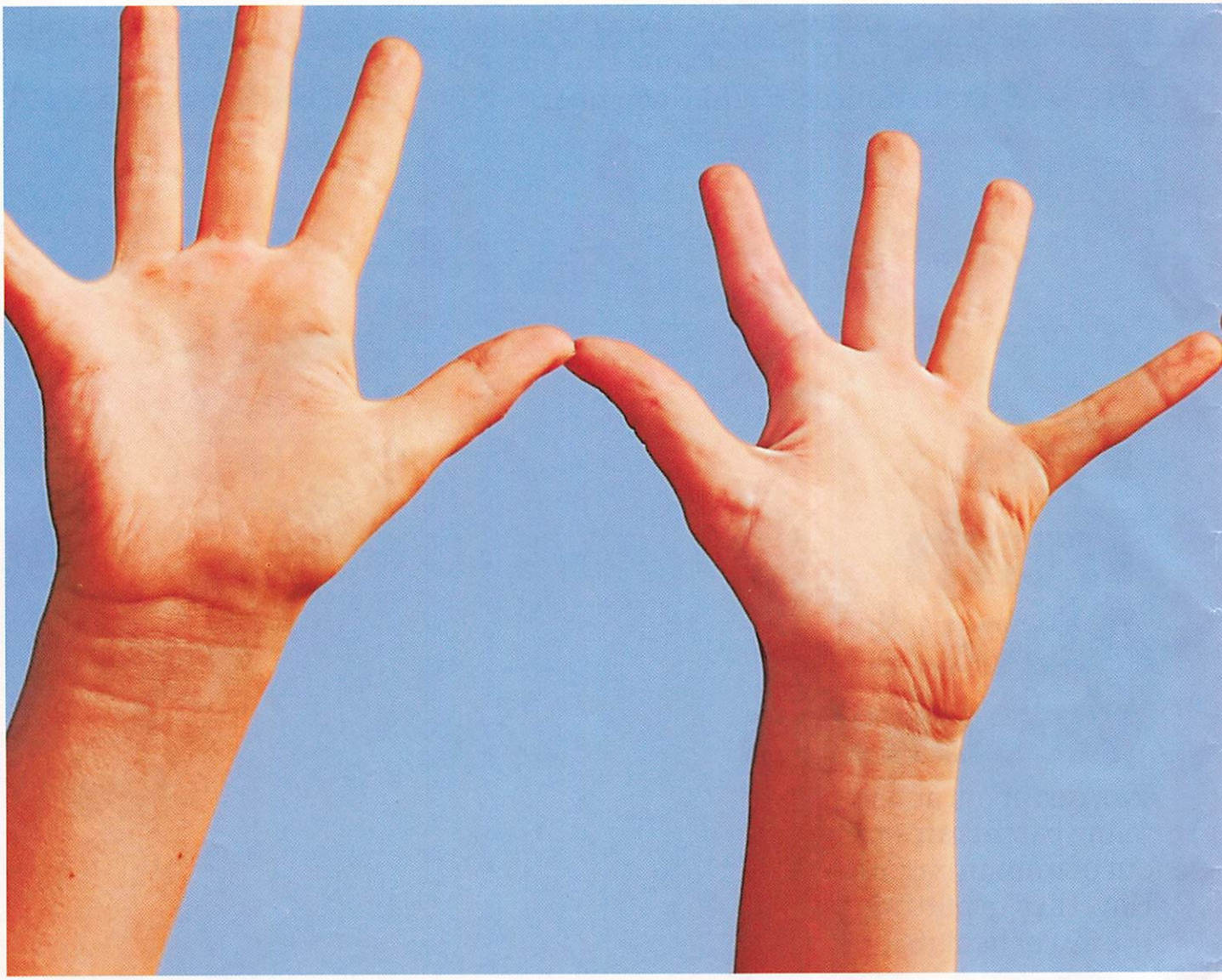
The Last Hurrah: Indiana Jones Shows His Age

TIME

The Truth About Vaccines

Worried about autism, many parents are opting out of immunizations. How they're putting the rest of us at risk

BY ALICE PARK



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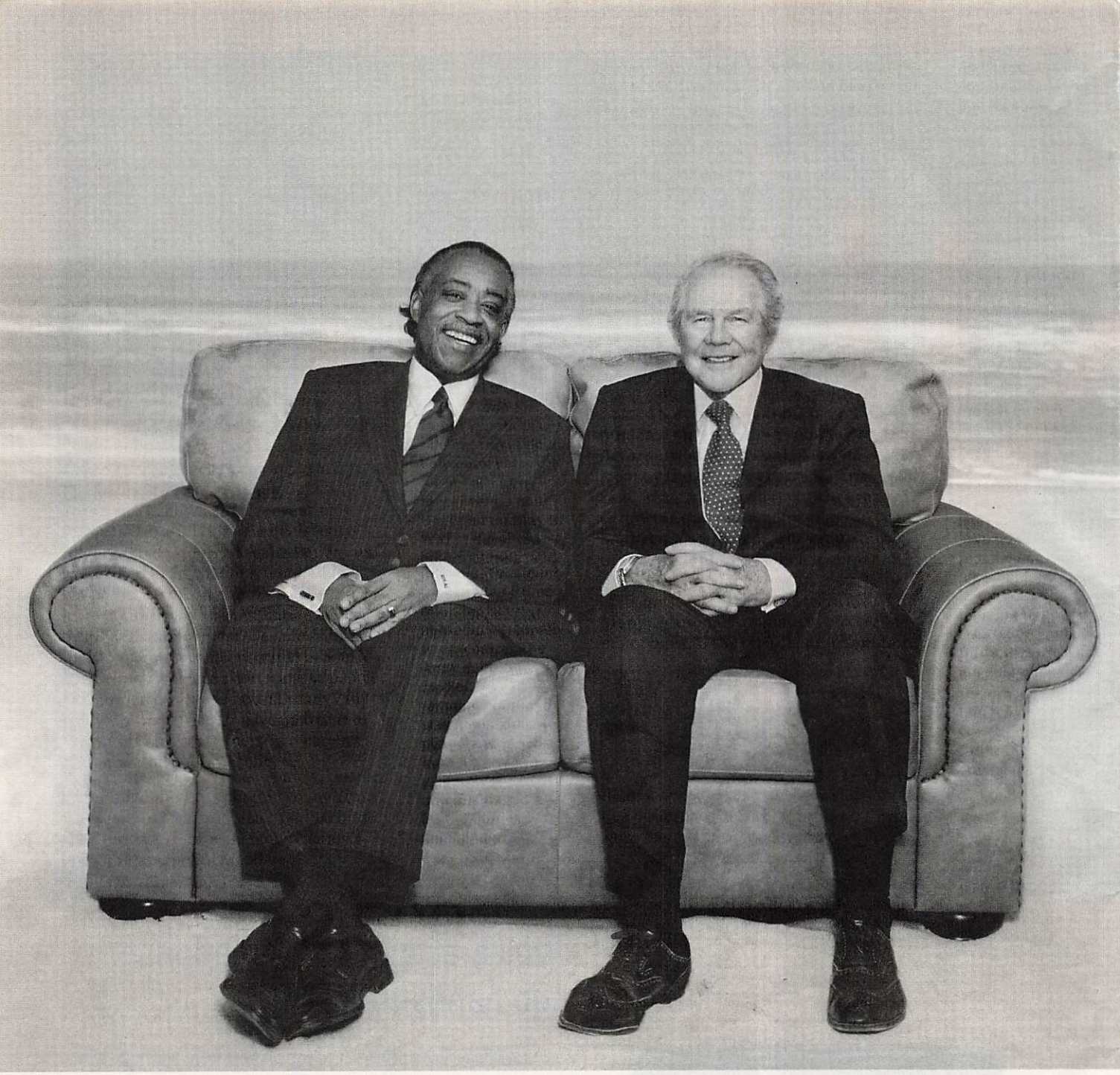

Rev. Al Sharpton and Rev. Pat Robertson, Virginia Beach, VA.

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VOL. 171, NO. 22 | 2008

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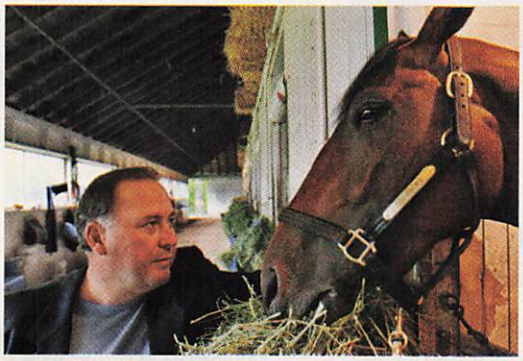

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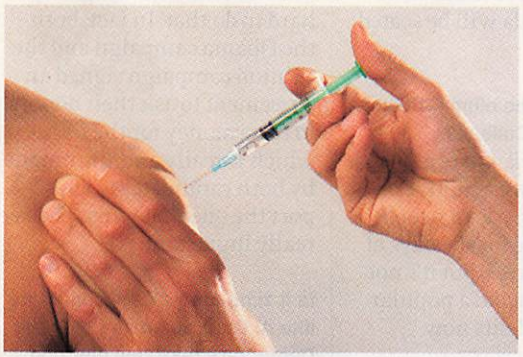

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On the cover: Photo-Illustration for TIME *by Arthur Hochstein, with photos from Penny Gentieu/babystock.com and iStockphoto. Insets, from left: Adam Hunger—Reuters; David James—Paramount*

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CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: MATTHEW CAVANAUGH—EPA; MIKE MARSLAND—WIREIMAGE; DAVID JAMES; PHOTO RESEARCHERS; MARC ASNIN—REDUX FOR TIME

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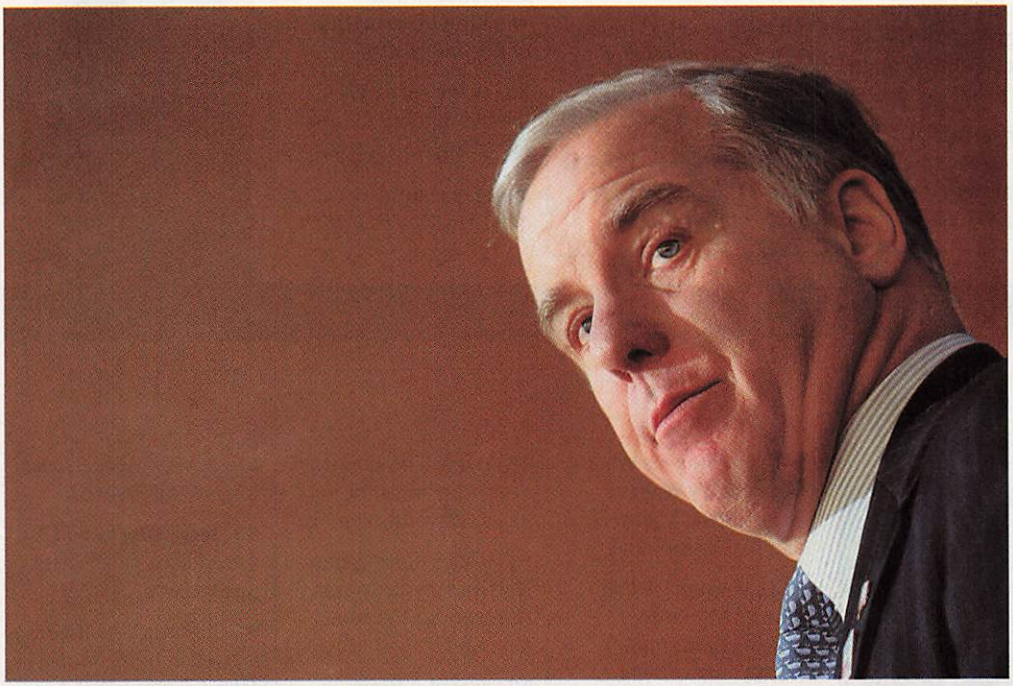
10 Questions. As the final primaries approach, the Democratic National Committee chairman is at the center of the battle between Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama. **Howard Dean will now take your questions**



Why does the Democratic Party have superdelegates?

Dan Moreman Jr.
SHREVEPORT, LA.

The initial purpose was to encourage officeholders to come to the convention, which they did not do in 1980 when there was a battle between President [Jimmy] Carter and Senator [Ted] Kennedy over the nomination. We've had them for 25 years for that reason.

Would you support an effort to create a single nationwide primary day?

Amy Wardlow
COLUMBUS, OHIO

Absolutely not. I think we do need to condense the schedule, but I also think that if you have them on a single day, it's like having a national election. We learn a lot about these candidates as they go through all these states.

Many people have criticized your hands-off approach as DNC chairman. Is that fair?

Marc Elliott Levy, WASHINGTON

I took a hands-off approach because I don't think it's up to the chairman of the Democratic National Committee to pick the President. That's up to the voters.

Do you see any situation whereby the delegates from Michigan and Florida are not seated?

C.J. Gremke, BUFFALO, N.Y.

There'll be three principles that the Rules Committee looks at: 1) fairness to the voters; 2) fairness to the campaigns, who started off under a set of rules believing that Michigan and Florida would not be seated; 3) fairness to the 48 states who did the right thing and stayed with the process. I do believe that Michigan and Florida will be seated in some way.

Do you favor the elimination of the Electoral College?

Wayne Martell, VICTORIA, B.C.

Yes. It's unrepresentative of where the American people are. It was fine for the days of the Pony Express, but it's not necessary to avoid a popular vote on Presidents now.

As a former physician, what are your thoughts on the Democratic candidates' health-care plans vs. a single-payer system?

Megan Prouty
CARROLLTON, TEXAS

I think while someday we may end up with a single-payer system, it's clear that we're not going to do it all at once, so I think both candidates' health-care plans are a big step forward. Certainly compared to Senator [John] McCain, who represents a big step backward.

Can you articulate what happened with your "Dean Scream" speech in 2004?

Elizabeth Cahimba
LANSING, MICH.

I think it was mostly a cable-television stunt that had nothing to do with what really went on in the room.

People disapprove of the job Congress is doing. Does that mean the gains made in the 2006 election will be lost in 2008?

Randy Arnold
CHATTANOOGA, TENN.

No. The public clearly agrees with Democrats on the major issues of the economy, the war and health care, and I think they feel very frustrated that the Republicans are preventing any of the reforms that the public wanted in 2006 from going into effect.

The long primary process has tired both Obama and Clinton supporters. What are some steps you plan on taking to defuse the bitterness between these two camps?

Minjae Lee, HAWORTH, N.J.

We're already working very hard to do that. In fact, both the Obama campaign and the Clinton campaign signed an agreement to ask their donors to raise money for the DNC, which is really a commitment by both candidates to support the one that wins. That's really important.

Is it time for a safety candidate like Al Gore, to ensure that the Democrats take this election that is ours to lose?

Steve Garmire
EDMONDS, WASH.

I think we're going to win no matter who gets nominated. ■

To hear more from Dean and to subscribe to the 10 Questions podcast on iTunes, go to *time.com/10questions*

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Postcard: Naypyidaw. Isolated from the carnage of Cyclone Nargis, Burma's new capital is ruled by a surreal sense of order. Inside the abode of the paranoid kings

BY HANNAH BEECH

Gods and monsters *Junta chief Than Shwe reviews the troops in Naypyidaw*

"THERE AREN'T ANY," SAYS THE hotelier with an embarrassed laugh when I ask about the best tourist attractions in Burma's new capital. That's no surprise, really. Naypyidaw—the name translates as "Abode of Kings"—was built from scratch just three years ago on orders from the ruling junta. The vast swath of former scrubland didn't even exist when the latest *Lonely Planet* Burma travel guide was written, and there's not much tourist charm in a dusty bunker town whose sole purpose is the wish fulfillment of paranoid generals.

Naypyidaw is very big and very empty. Even after Cyclone Nargis devastated Rangoon, Burma's former capital, that metropolis of 5 million still teems with life. The authorities claim that Naypyidaw, untouched by the storm, is home to nearly 1 million residents. But on a recent visit, I saw only a few dozen people apart from the gangs of manual laborers painting crosswalks and sweeping spotless boulevards. On the 20-minute drive from the airport to the hotel zone—where all six of Naypyidaw's hotels are located—I passed just three other vehicles. One was a horse-drawn buggy.

GLOBAL DISPATCH
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Tens of thousands of civil servants have been forced to abandon Rangoon for Naypyidaw, but the new capital has only two markets catering to their needs. There's no sign of movie theaters or karaoke dens, and no cell-phone coverage—for "security reasons," the locals claim. (That still doesn't explain why junta leader Than Shwe has refused to take calls from United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, who was phoning to urge more government aid for cyclone victims.)

Three years after the first wave of government employees moved here, Naypyidaw remains under construction. Workers toil in the searing heat, mostly without modern equipment like cranes and bulldozers. So far, their efforts have produced, among other things, a massive zoo, five police stations and three golf courses. (Burma's generals are notoriously fond of the sport.) Government housing is provided in bright-hued blocks reminiscent of a down-market Florida retirement community, color-coded by residents' occupation: blue buildings are for the Ministry of Health, green for the Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation.

One attraction of life in Naypyidaw is its 24-hour electricity supply in a country plagued by power shortages. But that's not enough to entice civil servants to bring their relatives here. Asked why her family stayed in the old capital, a 12-year-old girl visiting her father answers in impressive English, "Rangoon is better; here is bad," earning her a slap on the head from her anxious mother.

Despite the considerable landscaping effort at Naypyidaw's Natural Herbal Park and Water Fountain Garden, no people loll in these public green spaces. I see none of the country's omnipresent Buddhist monks in the new capital, even at the local pagoda. The instigators of last year's democracy protests, which soldiers broke up with gunfire, presumably aren't welcome in a city dedicated to a surreal sense of order.

The city's only potential tourist attraction is a replica of Rangoon's famous Shwedagon pagoda. It's still under construction. At the building site, child laborers—some appearing no older than 6—lug piles of rocks on woven stretchers. Burma's junta has long been considered one of the world's worst human-rights abusers. But the generals don't have to see these tiny laborers build a golden temple for their Abode of Kings. That's because the top brass is bunkered in another, faraway part of the city, an isolation that could help explain the junta's underwhelming reaction to Cyclone Nargis, which left an estimated 134,000 people dead or missing. A Naypyidaw map vividly sums up the willful seclusion of Burma's leaders: the space where the generals' lavish homes should be is completely blank. ■

KHIN MAUNG WIN—AFP/GETTY

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Inbox

Nearing the Finish Line

I WAS DELIGHTED TO SEE BARACK OBAMA'S face on TIME's cover [May 19]. However, considering the American people's support of George W. Bush in the past two elections, and the past seven years, aren't there enough reasons not to be so "pretty sure this time"? I am afraid that fear can still be a strong political weapon.

Adelaide Rodrigues, LISBON

MEMO TO JOE KLEIN: WITH SEVERAL STATES yet to vote, putting Obama's picture on the cover with the headline "And the Winner* Is..." is just irresponsible reporting.

A. Corona, CARMEL, CALIF.

Where Clinton Went Wrong

I'M SURPRISED KAREN TUMULTY LEFT out what I and many others consider to be Hillary Clinton's biggest mistake [May 19]. She voted for the war in Iraq and never fully apologized. Democratic-primary voters and caucusgoers simply demanded accountability from their elected representatives.

James Bordonaro, EMPORIA, KANS.

I HAVE PREVIOUSLY HEARD MANY OF THE points made by Tumulty. But her explanation of the intricacies of the problems, showing where they originated and how one step compounded another, made this an awesome article.

N. Jones, WASHINGTON

The True Meaning of *Iron Man*

RICHARD CORLISS TOTALLY MISSED THE boat in his analysis of the movie *Iron Man* [May 19]. The implicit message of the film, with its stereotypical portrayals of Middle Eastern men and trivialization of the role of our soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan, is not, as Corliss states, that "we've dwelled too long in the crypts of antiscientific dystopia." It is rather that the possession of state-of-the-art high-tech weaponry is the key to the triumph of good over evil, that might makes right, and that combat is just a high-tech video game. The real villains in this film are not the merchants who supply both sides with weapons of mass destruction but filmmakers who are warping the hearts and minds of the current generation of moviegoers.

Jean Ann Edsall, EUGENE, ORE.

Gene-Screening

MICHAEL KINSLEY MISSES A LONG-TERM generational effect of perpetuating defective genomes [May 19]. As a former genetics graduate student, I've seen tragic outcomes when parents with inherited diseases (or propensities for them) decide to pass their genes on to future offspring. Sometimes this is done with ignorance, sometimes with hopeful fatalism, sometimes with contrarian determination to prove that "I really am quite O.K.!" Carrying deleterious genes is certainly not within the carrier's control, but dooming a not yet conceived child to receive them certainly is. *Discrimination* is not always a pejorative term.

John T. Lowry, AUSTIN, TEXAS

PLAYING THE GOP'S GAME

LETTER FROM A LIBERAL

Karen Tumulty neglected to mention a sixth mistake made by Hillary Clinton, which is as significant as the others: playing by Republican rules [May 19]. Clinton has allowed Republicans to shape the political conversation. The Republicans have given us a philosophy in which *liberal* is a dirty word, diplomacy equals weakness, and taxation and government services, in all their forms, are evil. Clinton has chosen to accept these assumptions and play along in a reality defined largely by Karl Rove (and Lee Atwater before him). Those of us who are still proud to be called liberals, who would like to see a functional government and who prefer our President to err on the side of peace have looked elsewhere for our leadership.

Delta Leeper, AUBURN HILLS, MICH.

Israel at 60

RE TIM MCGIRK'S PIECE ON ISRAEL: WHILE it's true that certain Arab leaders (though not Palestinians) have spoken of "pushing the Israelis into the sea," I am at a loss to find even one instance of Israelis speaking of "driving the Arabs into the desert sands" [May 19]. Quite to the contrary: most Israelis would be content for Palestinians to establish a peaceful state in the West Bank and Gaza and, in return, let Israelis live in peace in Israel. Regrettably for both, as long as several major Arab factions are sworn to the destruction of Israel, this will not happen.

Arye Ephrath, FAIRFAX, VA.

'Wow, I didn't know Obama had been nominated! Last time, the Supreme Court chose "the man." Now it's TIME magazine.'
Stu Nichols, ASPEN, COLO.

The winner, we think *Readers chafed at* TIME's *dubbing Obama the likely nominee*

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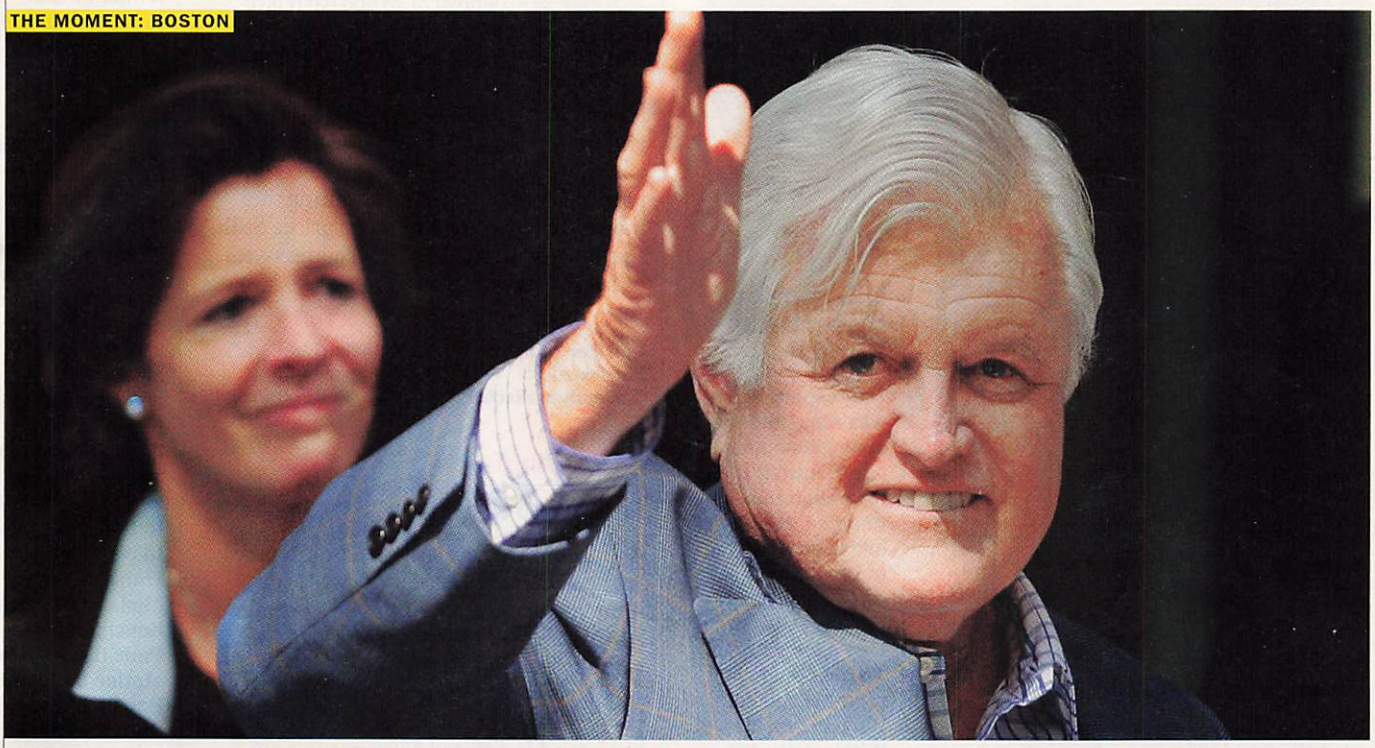
PAUL SANCYA—AP

A Brief History of: Gay Marriage
PAGE 16

Briefing

THE MOMENT: BOSTON



BRIAN SNYDER—REUTERS

The Senator's Smile. A life of accomplishment offsets Kennedy's tragic diagnosis

IN PICTURES TAKEN WITH family after a malignant tumor was discovered in his brain, Senator Edward Moore Kennedy wore a grin. It was a familiar, reassuring sight. Can he—or we—remember a time before he mastered the brave face? Ted Kennedy was 12 when he first attended a sibling's funeral. By age 36, he was the last of the four Kennedy brothers still standing. He has endured an awesome catalog of trials, humiliations, griefs, terrors and mortifications—always in public, always with his chin up.

To say that Kennedy has perfected this role is not to suggest that his grin is inauthentic. If anyone could sincerely smile through such a grim prognosis, it would be a man who never expected to make it this far.

How threatening can a life-threatening cancer truly be when you've already walked the length and breadth of the Valley of the Shadow? Kennedy was born into wealth, nursed on power and indulged in every appetite—but the one luxury denied him was the illusion of immortality. After his brothers John and Robert were assassinated in 1963 and 1968, a suffocating sense of doom settled over him, and many years passed before he realized that his life story would have all its pages.

Along the way, Kennedy has steadily exchanged his heavy burden of what-ifs for an impressive record of legislative accomplishments. He has lived long enough to hear the growing consensus that his 45-year career would rank among the most consequential in the history of the U.S. Senate.

The one luxury denied him was the illusion of immortality

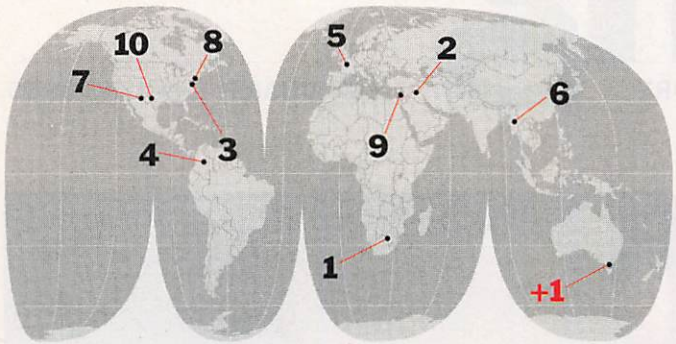
A malignant glioma is usually deadly, but not always *(see page 52)*. As news of Kennedy's disease spread throughout the Capitol, friends and colleagues across party lines prayed that he would add cancer to the list of struggles he has survived. "He's in a fighting mood," fellow Massachusetts Senator John Kerry said.

But whatever lies ahead, the news from Massachusetts General reminded the nation of a fact Ted Kennedy has never forgotten: the end is always a question of when, not if. At some point, the tempestuous biography of the youngest Kennedy brother will close. But it will do so on a note of completion, rather than tragedy.

—BY DAVID VON DREHLE ■

The World

10 ESSENTIAL STORIES



Police assist a man set aflame during anti-immigrant violence near Johannesburg

1 | South Africa

Unfriendly Neighbors

More than 40 people were killed and thousands left homeless as a wave of anti-immigrant violence swept through the shantytowns around Johannesburg. President Thabo Mbeki was eventually compelled to send troops to quell vengeful mobs that rampaged against migrants from neighboring nations, whom they blame for everything from a rash of robberies to taking away jobs in a nation racked by high unemployment. Despite astoundingly high rates of violent crime in South Africa (mob violence aside, some 52 people are murdered every 24 hours), many Zimbabweans in particular have poured into the country to escape their own nation's economic and political collapse.

2 | Iraq

U.S. Soldier Desecrates Koran

The response was rapid and the apologies numerous following the revelation that an American soldier had used a copy of the Koran for target practice, riddling the Islamic holy book with 14 bullets at a target range near Baghdad on May 9. Within days, top military brass held a ceremony apologizing for the incident and expressed their regret to Iraqi officials; President Bush called Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki personally to apologize. The Army said the soldier, who remains unnamed, was quickly disciplined and removed from Iraq. Meanwhile, Baghdad officials called for harsher punishment.

3 | Washington

A Populist Play on Oil

Facing record gas prices, President Bush reluctantly signed a bill to halt the deposit of 70,000 barrels of oil per day into the Strategic Petroleum Reserve, a two-month buffer of crude last tapped to offset disruptions caused by Hurricane Katrina. The amount of extra oil is relatively tiny—the world produces close to 75 million bbl. per day—meaning the move will have little impact on prices. Still, the measure sailed through Congress with overwhelming support.

TAPPING THE STRATEGIC PETROLEUM RESERVE

Gulf War 1990-91	»	**21 million bbl.**
Katrina 2005	»	**21 million bbl.**
Currently available	»	**703 billion bbl.**

4 | Colombia

A Blow to FARC

A top commander of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) surrendered on May 18—a boon to President Alvaro Uribe. Nelly Avila Morena—who went by the nom de guerre Karina—said FARC, which has been trying to overthrow the government for some 40 years, has been "decimated." The group now includes about 9,000 rebels, compared with an estimated 17,500 in 2002. Two of its most senior officials were killed in March. Morena's surrender is seen as a major blow to the organization's morale.

Colombian army soldiers escort FARC's Nelly Avila Morena after her surrender

5 | France

Look Who's Talking

Jimmy Carter isn't the only former official to reach out to militant group Hamas, which won Palestinian parliamentary elections in 2006. France's former ambassador to Iraq, Yves Aubin de La Messuzière, confirmed that he had met with the group's leaders last month to discuss a possible resolution to the stalled Israeli-Palestinian peace process. "We must be able to talk if we want to play a role," French Foreign Minister Bernard Kouchner told a Paris-based radio station on May 19. Hamas claims it's had similar contact with other European countries, despite U.S. attempts to isolate the group. "We don't believe [such discussions are] helpful to the process of bringing peace to the region," a U.S. State Department spokesman said.

Numbers:

2,500 Number of juveniles detained in Iraq, Afghanistan and Guantánamo Bay since 2002 for suspected terrorism. Such incarcerations are a violation of U.N. protocol, according to the ACLU. The youngest detainee is 10 years old

10

1: SIMPHIWE NKWALI—AP; 4: LUIS BENAVIDES—AP; 6: GETTY; 8: REUTERS; +1: WILLIAM WEST—AFP/GETTY

6 | Burma

AID TRICKLES IN *More than two weeks after Cyclone Nargis left an estimated 134,000 dead or missing and 2.5 million homeless, Burma's ruling junta bowed to international pressure and agreed to accept substantial foreign aid, as long as it's funneled through* ASEAN, *the Association of Southeast Asia Nations. The U.S. and U.N. have landed supply planes in the city of Rangoon but have not been able to directly reach the delta, hindering the much needed large-scale disbursement of aid.*

7 | Mexico

Lawless Days

Guillermo Prieto Quintana, police chief of the Mexican border town Ciudad Juárez, resigned in the face of a large increase in violence against law-enforcement officers during President Felipe Calderón's continuing crackdown on drug cartels. Out of 22 senior Ciudad Juárez officials named on a cartel death list, seven have been killed and three wounded; except for one, the rest have quit.

8 | Philadelphia

Cops Condemned

Four police officers will be fired and four more disciplined for their role in the brutal May 5 beating of three shooting suspects, captured on tape by a news helicopter. Among 19 officers identified in the footage, seven are accused of using excessive force, and a sergeant was demoted for failing to intervene. The speedy response by newly appointed police commissioner Charles H. Ramsey was praised by local NAACP leadership, which also criticized the Rev. Al Sharpton's involvement in the controversy. Sharpton had called the incident "worse than Rodney King." A criminal investigation continues.

9 | Lebanon

A Deal at Last

After an 18-month stalemate punctuated by recent violence, Lebanon's political factions reached a power-sharing deal that will install army General Michel Suleiman as President. The pact also grants significant new powers to militant group Hizballah, which drew criticism from Osama bin Laden in a recent audiotape for lacking the strength to battle Israel.

10 | San Angelo, Texas

Custody Chaos

Individual hearings began for more than 460 children taken from a polygamist sect accused of sexual abuse. The custody case, considered the largest in U.S. history, is expected to cost more than $1.5 million a month in housing and medical fees; two teens have given birth in the state's care, although both turned out to be over the age of consent. Officials say they hope to reunite the families but not before parents attend psychological counseling and parenting classes. Lawyers for the parents argue that such plans fail to resolve whether the children will be able to return to the group's compound and what to do about visitations, which are nearly impossible because siblings have been scattered across Texas. Results of DNA tests to determine the sect's complicated family relationships are expected in June.

Students wave after laying out a cardboard kangaroo in a Melbourne park

+1 | Australia

A Kangaroo from Space

You don't have to go Down Under to see a kangaroo—just orbit Earth once or twice. A 105-ft.-long (32 m) white cardboard image of the beloved marsupial was photographed by satellites on May 20 as part of a multicountry project to study the albedo effect, the amount of sunlight that reflects off Earth's surface. Scientists are gathering data to raise awareness of how the whiteness of the polar ice caps, currently shrinking because of global warming, helps deflect heat from the sun and keep the planet cool.

Total number of bills President Bush has vetoed, including the 2008 farm bill, which he did in the face of an override. President Clinton issued 37 vetoes

$228 MILLION

Estimated cost for the U.S. Treasury Department to replace printing plates and presses following a federal appeals court ruling that U.S. paper money discriminates against the blind

Verbatim

For more daily sound bites, visit time.com/quotes

'We will raise production when the market justifies it.'

ALI AL-NAIMI, Saudi Arabia's Minister of Petroleum and Mineral Resources, after the country rebuffed President George W. Bush's request that OPEC nations immediately pump more oil to decrease record prices

'They've declared her dead more times than a cat's got lives.'

BILL CLINTON, former U.S. President, on his wife Hillary Clinton and her campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination

'How many people have seen or touched their medical record? That really shouldn't be the case in this information age.'

MARISSA MAYER, Google executive, on the launch of a free service that allows customers to track their medical history online

'You don't remove the word *Coca* from *Coca-Cola* and just leave *Cola*. It's ludicrous.'

ARYE BARAK, spokesman for an Israeli movie distributor, on requests by religious authorities that the word *sex* be removed from ads for the movie *Sex and the City*, which opens in Israel on May 29

'This is the century when white people will become a minority in this country. What that means is, right now, we need to have a clear picture of where we're headed.'

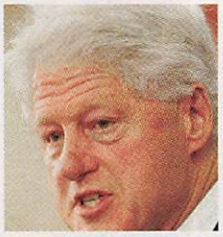
BEN JEALOUS, newly named president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who at 35 is the youngest leader in the NAACP's 99-year history

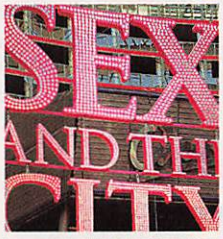
'I'm not going to sing anymore. I've hung my microphone up.'

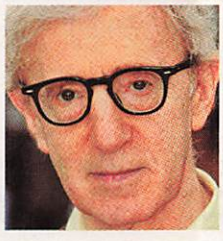
VICTORIA BECKHAM, former Spice Girl, announcing that she is retiring from performing to focus on her work in fashion

'You know, it's hard enough to get one person.'

WOODY ALLEN, film director, when asked about his chances of participating in a threesome, the subject of his new romantic comedy, *Vicky Cristina Barcelona*







Back & Forth
Appeasement War

MAY 15
GEORGE W. BUSH
U.S. President, in a speech to the Israeli parliament, evoking the appeasement of Adolf Hitler, taken by some as an attack on Barack Obama
"Some seem to believe we should negotiate with terrorists and radicals, as if some ingenious argument will persuade them they have been wrong all along."

MAY 16
BARACK OBAMA
Democratic presidential hopeful, who has said he would hold talks with Iran
"The President did something that Presidents don't do, and that is launch a political attack targeted toward the domestic market in front of a foreign delegation."

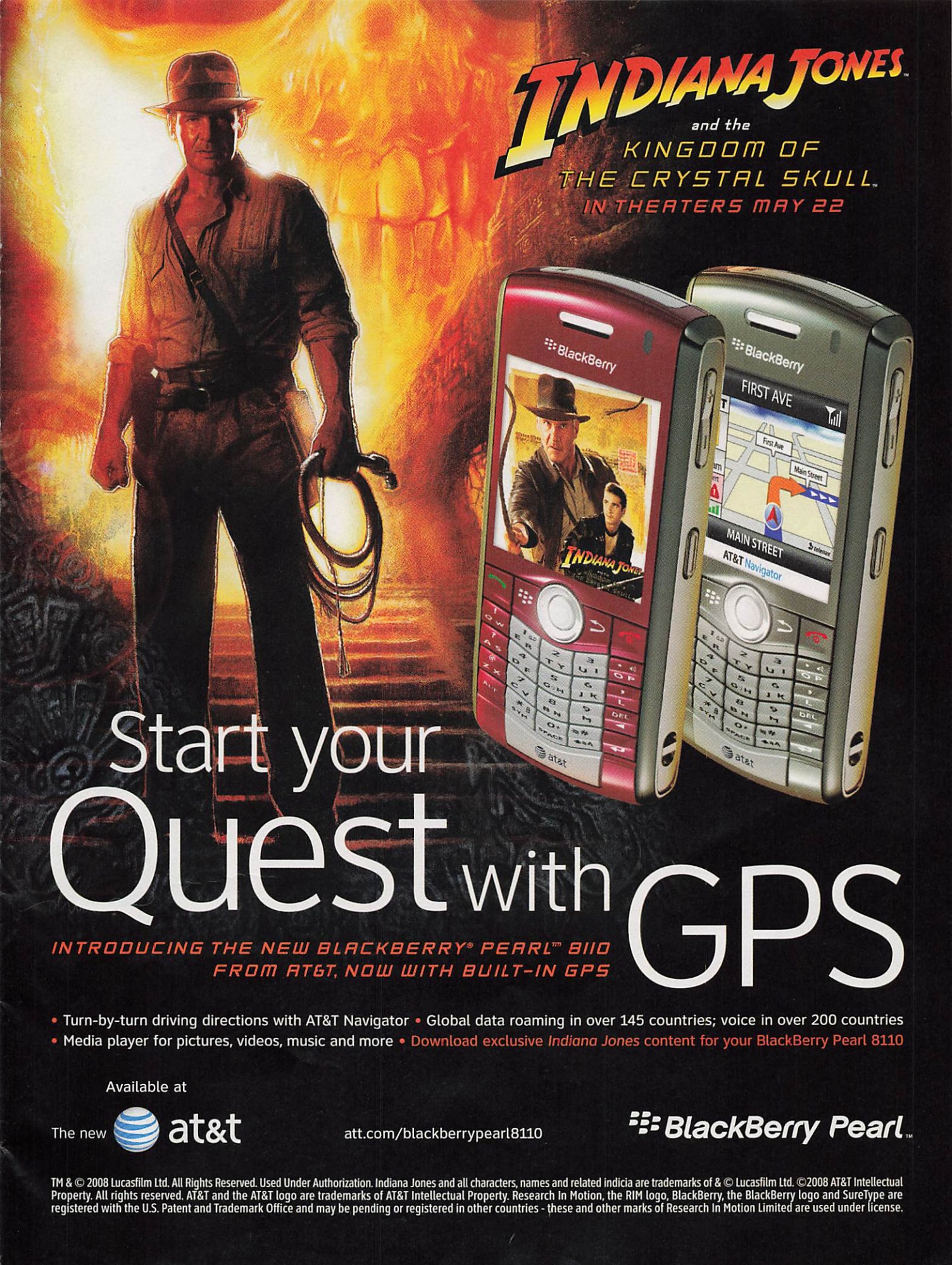
MAY 18
GEORGE W. BUSH
In an NBC interview, on whether his comment referred to Obama
"You know, my policies haven't changed, but evidently the political calendar has."

MAY 19
ED GILLESPIE
Senior Bush aide, blasting NBC for omitting parts of Bush's response, including, "People need to read the speech. You didn't get it exactly right, either."
"This deceitful editing to further a media-manufactured story line is utterly misleading and irresponsible."

MAY 19
NBC NEWS
Responding to Gillespie
"NBC News, as part of a free press in a free society, makes its own editorial decisions."

Sources: *USA Today*; AP; San Francisco *Chronicle*; AP; Chicago *Tribune*; *Access Hollywood*; AP

FROM TOP: HARAZ N. GHANBARI—AP; DAVID PERRY—LEXINGTON HERALD LEADER/ZUMA; OLIVER LANG—AFP/GETTY; ANITA BUGGE—WIREIMAGE; LAWRENCE JACKSON—AP; DAVID WIMSETT—UPPA/ZUMA; SIPA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Only now I have half a slice instead of a whole one.
Checking my blood sugar allows me that."
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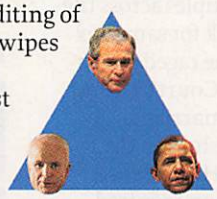
For more on Cassandra and her meter, go to www.OneTouchDiabetes.com/Cassandra

Read Mark Halperin every day on **thepage.time.com**

The Page

A WEEKLY POLITICAL SCORECARD BY MARK HALPERIN

THE ISSUE	THE ACTION	REPUBLICANS	DEMOCRATS	TIE
Foreign Policy Debates	The **BARACK OBAMA–JOHN MCCAIN** clashes over Iran and Cuba have served as proxies for likely general-election mantras ("Obama lacks experience and judgment" vs. "McCain = Bush"). McCain has shown relative ease in drawing Obama into the fight and away from domestic issues. Obama has seen other Democrats rally strongly to his side.			✗
Party Unity	Even as Senator **HILLARY CLINTON** continues her nomination fight against **OBAMA**, Democrats are coming together in preparation for the general-election contest. The party's top donors (hers and his alike) are meeting to plot fall strategy. Some (although not all) Clintonistas are warming to the idea of an Obama nomination—and the candidate seems to be readying herself for a probable departure. Meanwhile, in the face of disastrous poll numbers and recent defeats, Republicans have bonded together, put aside differences and turned to maverick McCain as a savior. But many Republicans still fear they will be hung together in November—even if they hang together now.		✓	
Triangulating Bush	**PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH**, during an overseas trip, picks a fight over the alleged "appeasement" of terrorists (potentially rallying the conservative base against **OBAMA**). Then the White House picks a fight with NBC News over the editing of an interview with the President—tossing in swipes at its coverage of Iraq and the economy and its supposed liberal bias (rallying the base against Old Media). Still, an unpopular, lame-duck leader might be more of a boomerang against **MCCAIN** than a blade against Obama. 		✓	
Pop Culture	**MCCAIN'S** latest star turn on *Saturday Night Live* was (to borrow his applause line) "crazy exciting." Two bits of comedy addressed his age and the unending Democratic race with dandy timing and delivery, serving to remind Democrats that they are facing an old dog who can show off new tricks on plenty of fun TV venues.	✓		

Winner of the Week: Democrats

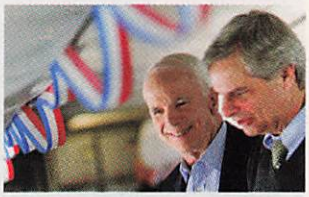
Obama struck a good balance by engaging with McCain while not appearing to force Clinton from the race. Republicans finally woke up to the prospect of a potentially disastrous Election Day—but haven't done much to fix things (yet).

NOT ALL ROUNDS ARE CREATED EQUAL. THE WEEK'S WINNER IS BASED ON THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF EACH FIGHT AND BY HOW MUCH THE WINNER TAKES EACH ROUND.

McCain Under The Influence.

How did the anti-special-interest candidate get surrounded by lobbyists?

FOR THE PAST TWO DECADES, few politicians have publicly denounced special interests more often than John McCain. But for much of 2008, he has struggled to explain the fact that many of his advisers are current or former influence



McCain with campaign manager Davis, a onetime lobbyist

peddlers. The issue remained mostly a distraction until early May, when McCain parted ways with two aides whose firm once lobbied for the Burmese military junta, a regime he condemns. Now the lobbyist issue is roiling McCainLand, prompting more departures—including top fund raiser and former Representative Thomas Loeffler—and a strict conflict-of-interest policy. The sudden house-cleaning has raised an awkward question: Why is McCain seemingly drawn to people from the world's second-oldest profession? (Campaign manager Rick Davis and top strategist Charlie Black are both former lobbyists.) Some suggest the flap represents the latest example of McCain's famous inattention to detail—a potential vulnerability in the campaign, and in the White House.

With reporting by Randy James and Katie Rooney

PHOTO ILLUSTRATION BY KATIE ROONEY; SCORECARD, FROM TOP: STEVEN MORTON—AP; ADAM BIRD—AP; EMMANUEL DUNAND—AFP/GETTY; ARIEL SCHALIT—POOL/GETTY; CHRIS GARDNER—GETTY; ALEX WONG—GETTY; DANA EDELSON—NBCU PHOTO BANK; MCCAIN AND DAVIS; CHARLES DHARAPAK—AP

A Brief History of:

Gay Marriage

Embracing the verdict
A couple rejoices after a California ruling overturns the state ban on gay marriage

WHEN MARCIA HAMS AND SUSAN SHEPHERD CUT INTO THEIR wedding cake at city hall in Cambridge, Mass., on May 17, 2004, after becoming the first same-sex couple in the U.S. to complete a state-sanctioned marriage application, they probably hoped their union would open the floodgates for gay couples across the country. But instead, it became a high-water mark for same-sex marriage as the acrimonious debate over the issue raged on—a moment equaled only by a California Supreme Court's ruling in mid-May overturning the state's ban on gay marriage.

Same-sex marriage has a short but heated history in the U.S. It first came to national attention in a 1993 Hawaii case, in which judges found that the state's constitution required a compelling reason not to extend to gays equal marriage rights. The ruling prompted Congress to push through the 1996 Defense of Marriage Act, which prevented homosexual couples from receiving benefits traditionally conferred by marriage. Since then, states have scrambled to define their own stance on the issue, in some cases recognizing civil unions or domestic partnerships.

Gay-marriage supporters have notched some victories, most notably in 2003, when the Massachusetts Supreme Court ruled that gays had equal marriage rights. But opponents are winning the legislative fight. Twenty-seven states have passed constitutional bans on gay marriage, while just 10 have granted rights to homosexual couples. Polls have shown that a majority of Americans—including Californians—remain opposed to gay marriage. And in response to the 2003 Massachusetts victory, 13 states passed anti-gay-marriage initiatives in the subsequent election. Gay-rights activists must hope the three states likely facing similar measures won't follow suit this November.

DEBATING GAY MARRIAGE

1996 President Bill Clinton signs Defense of Marriage Act, denying same-sex couples federal marriage rights

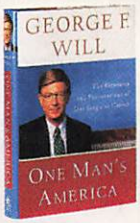
2003 Massachusetts Supreme Court rules that denying marriage rights violates the state's constitution

2004 President George W. Bush endorses a constitutional amendment prohibiting gay marriage, but it is defeated in Congress

2004 Thirteen states pass measures defining marriage as between a man and a woman

2008 California Supreme Court overturns gay-marriage ban

THE SKIMMER



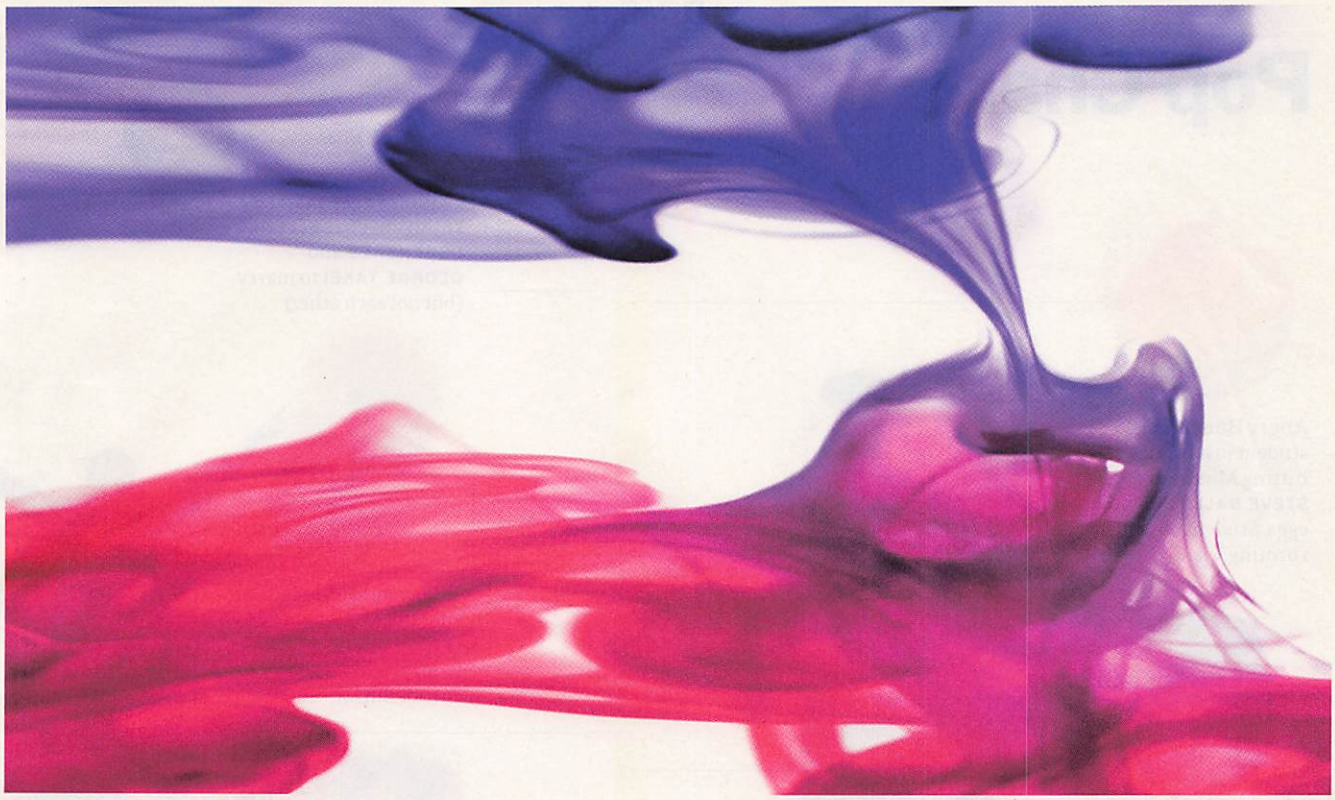
One Man's America

By George F. Will
Crown Forum; 384 pages

GEORGE WILL HAS always maintained an air of serenity—in both demeanor and prose—that has distinguished him from the more pugnacious conservative pundits. *One Man's America*, his latest collection of essays, is an exemplar of Willian rhetoric: logical, measured and seemingly incapable of getting too worked up. Purposely steering free of anything particularly controversial ("Consider this volume an almost entirely Iraq-free zone," he writes), Will manages to opine on, well, just about everything else. There are pieces on historical figures, so many of which are pegged to anniversaries and centennials that it's easy to imagine Will sitting blindfolded opposite a dartboard full of famous birthdays. He rails (gently) against the liberal stranglehold on university faculties, skewers the hypocrisy of environmental activists who eat energy-inefficient pints of Ben and Jerry's, and returns to that topic of which he is a near master: baseball. Still, as with most wide-ranging essay collections, *America* contains several missed swings in addition to its solid hits.

READ
SKIM ✔
TOSS

HISTORY, FROM TOP: JUSTIN SULLIVAN—GETTY; STEPHEN JAFFE—GETTY; JIM BOURG—REUTERS



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Tomorrow's Answers Today

Pop Chart

SHOCKING

California gay-marriage ruling inspires **ELLEN DEGENERES** and **GEORGE TAKEI** to marry (but not each other)

Angry Hungarian student just misses hitting Microsoft CEO **STEVE BALLMER** with eggs. Student obviously running Vista

HARRISON FORD gets chest waxed for charity, early promo for *Indiana Jones and the 65-Year-Old Virgin*

Who would Jesus sue? Inspirational **"FOOTPRINTS"** poem in legal battle over authorship

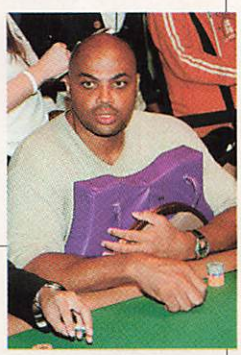
BOB WOODWARD takes a buyout from Washington *Post*, 35 years too late for Nixon

KATIE HOLMES to star in Arthur Miller revival on Broadway

AMY WINEHOUSE and Pete Doherty play with box of newborn mice on YouTube. So things are obviously going just fine for them

Wall Street restaurant serves **$175 GOLD-TOPPED BURGER.** Mmmm... tastes like layoffs

PREDICTABLE



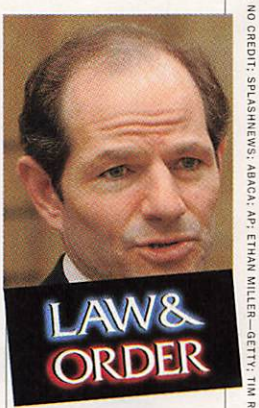
CHARLES BARKLEY says he'll give up gambling. Oddsmakers set line at 1,000 to 1

JACK BLACK reveals **ANGELINA JOLIE** pregnant with twins. Vengeful Angelina Jolie reveals Jack Black also pregnant with twins

R. KELLY trial begins. Motion to have jury selection at Miley Cyrus concert denied!

MATTHEW MCCONAUGHEY shops baby photos to tabloids. Proceeds to go to undershirt fund

PRINCE HARRY'S convoy in 100 m.p.h. chase en route to nightclub



Law & Order airs **ELIOT SPITZER**–themed episode

SHOCKINGLY PREDICTABLE

TOP TO BOTTOM: FROM LEFT COLUMN: ALAMY; MARCEL THOMAS—FILMMAGIC; ALPHA/LANDOV; YOUTUBE (2); SCOTT OLSON—GETTY; ABACA (2); ALAMY; NO CREDIT; SPLASHNEWS; ABACA; AP; ETHAN MILLER—GETTY; TIM ROSKE—AP; NBC

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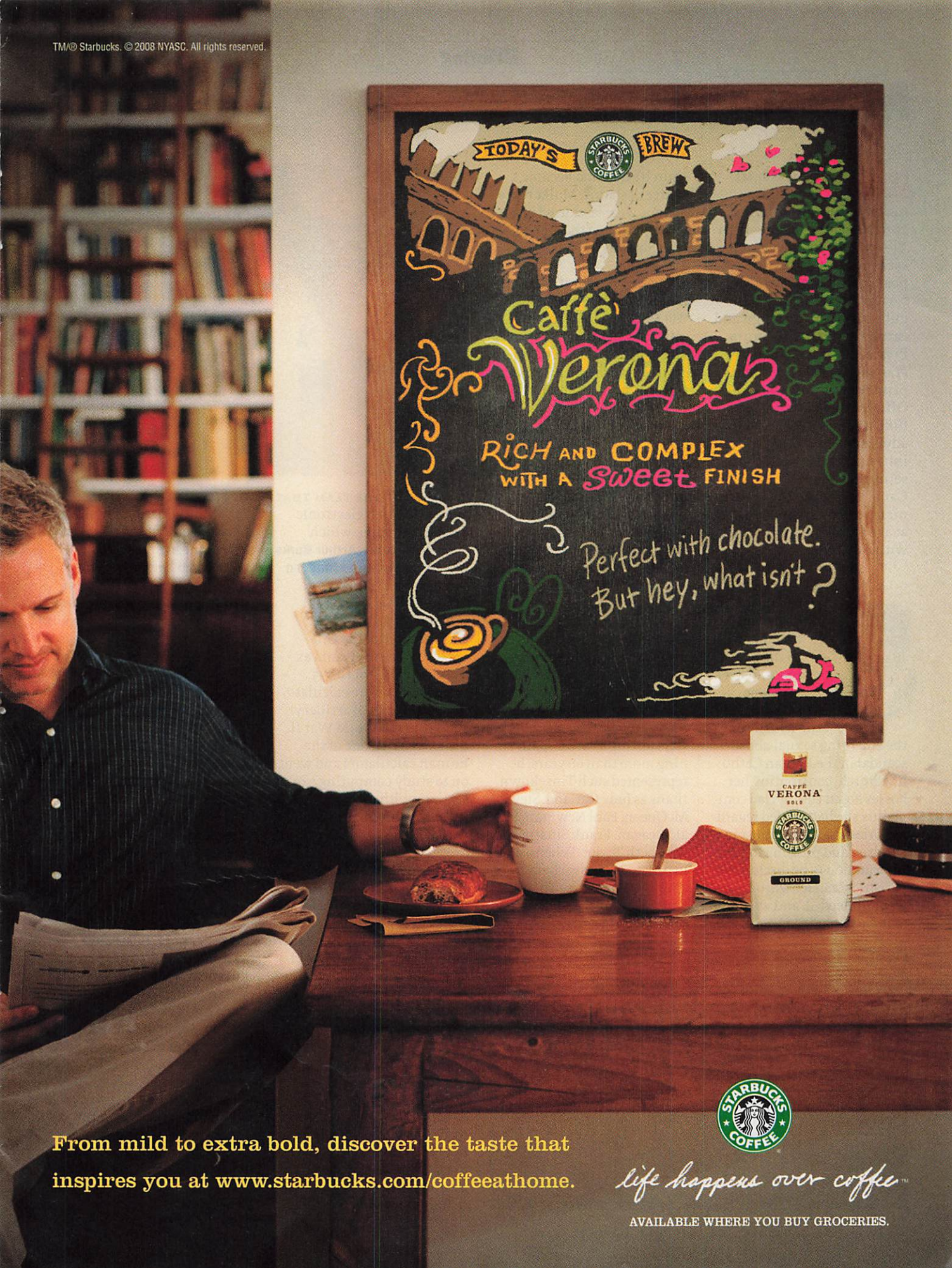

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Milestones

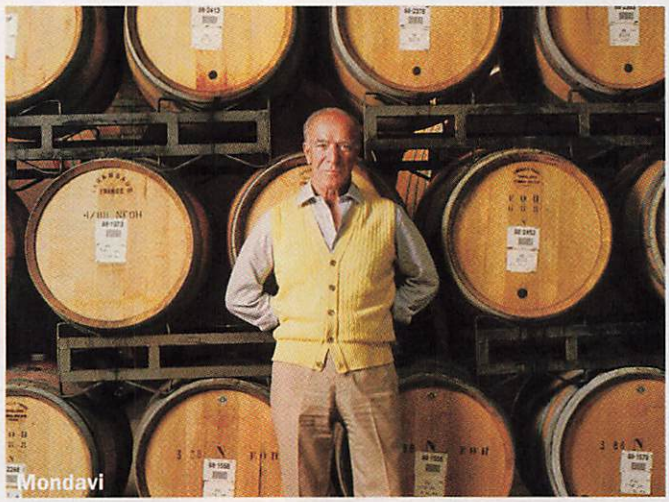
DIED WHEN HE BECAME President Jimmy Carter's chief of staff in 1979, **Hamilton Jordan**—then 34—was one of the youngest ever to ascend to the post. Jordan began working for Carter during his first gubernatorial campaign and earned a spot in the future President's inner circle by crafting an audacious blueprint for winning the Oval Office. After Carter's election, Jordan served as a key adviser on both domestic and international affairs, counseling Carter on the Panama Canal treaty and the 1979 Iranian hostage crisis. He died at age 63 after a long battle with cancer.

■ AS A NUN working for the Boston archdiocese in the early 1990s, Sister **Catherine Mulkerrin** blew the whistle on the emerging sexual-abuse scandal in the Roman Catholic Church, confronting her bosses about the myriad complaints she had fielded regarding priests sexually abusing children and pushing for that information to be disclosed to parishioners. Her warnings went unheeded, and when the scandal exploded in 2002, the church's inaction became a source of shame. Mulkerrin's memos were later used in a lawsuit against the archdiocese. She was 73.

■ ONE OF THE ORIGINAL CARtoonists for *Mad* magazine, **Will Elder** created irreverent, satirical illustrations that provided inspiration for the makers of *Airplane!* and the *Naked Gun* movies. At a publication in which bad taste was good, Elder was prized for his biting spoofs. He later took his knack for parody to *Playboy*, where he created and spent 25 years illustrating its *Little Annie Fanny* cartoon strip, which lampooned the magazine's fascination with buxom blondes. His frenetic style inspired scores of cartoonists. He was 86.

■ THOUGH HE PIONEERED product placement in Hollywood, **Warren Cowan's** considerable influence was felt mainly behind the silver screen. As a publicist to the stars during a career spanning more than 60 years, he represented such Tinseltown titans as Judy Garland, Steve McQueen, Paul Newman, Ronald Reagan, Frank Sinatra and Elizabeth Taylor. When asked to pick his favorite client from among the list of luminaries, Cowan famously replied, "The next one." He was 87.

Jordan, far left



Mondavi

■ AS PART OF THE TEAM THAT created the first electronic digital computer, which weighed 30 tons, **Arthur Burks** helped usher in the modern technological age. ENIAC (for electronic numerical integrator and computer) was invented at the University of Pennsylvania as a replacement for the 75 women who were calculating trajectories of artillery shells during World War II. Burks married one of the human calculators and went on to study computing's intersections with other sciences, including linguistics. He was 92.

■ HE ENDURED A BITTER split with his family, the early snubs of oenophiles and ultimately a corporate buyout, but along the way **Robert Mondavi** showed the world that good wine isn't just the province of Provence. In 1966, after being expelled from the family business, Mondavi founded his own winery. At the time, American wine was considered the dregs of the industry. Mondavi changed that, turning his winery into one of the nation's largest and transforming California's Napa Valley into a premier winemaking region. He was 94.

■ CO-RECIPIENT OF THE 1955 Nobel Prize for Physics for his work describing the structure of the hydrogen atom, **Willis Lamb** helped spur the development of key theories

underpinning modern physics. Lamb was once a student of the Manhattan Project's Robert Oppenheimer, and Lamb's discovery that different energy levels existed among electrons in hydrogen atoms catalyzed a new understanding of quantum mechanics. His work has also advanced the study of lasers and electromagnetism. He was 94.

■ THE HEIR TO THE A&P grocery chain, **Huntington Hartford** inherited a fortune but spent most of his life squandering it. Once one of the world's richest people, Hartford sought renown as an arbiter of taste, but the diverse endeavors he bankrolled—including an art museum he conceived as a response to the spread of modernism, an ill-fated stage adaptation of *Jane Eyre* and a handwriting institute—were mainly spectacular failures. He was 97.

MONDAVI: ED KASHI—CORBIS; LAMB: BETTMANN—CORBIS; JORDAN: CORBIS

By Alex Altman, Harriet Barovick, Gilbert Cruz, Andrea Ford, Kate Pickert and M.J. Stephey

James
Poniewozik

Working-Class Heroes. On *Deadliest Catch* and its followers, the biggest drama comes from pulling down a paycheck

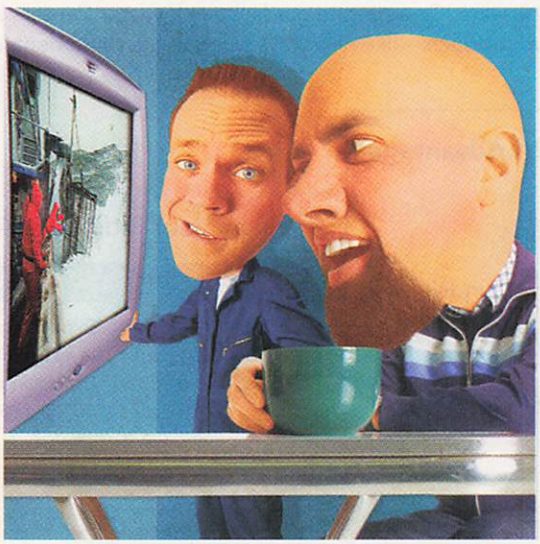
ONE OF THE MOST AMUSING SPECTACLES this election season has been watching highly paid TV hosts embrace their inner Woody Guthrie and rediscover the workin' man. What do blue-collar Americans want? Can they save Hillary? Is Obama out of touch with them?

The irony is that TV networks have been out of touch with the working class for years. Blue-collar TV characters used to be routine: Ralph Kramden, Fred Sanford, Laverne and Shirley. TV was the people's medium, after all. But now network dramas and sitcoms have been gentrified. The better to woo upscale viewers, TV has evicted its mechanics and dockworkers to collect higher rents from yuppies in coffeehouses. Even cop shows have been taken away from beat cops and given to the eggheads on *CSI* and *Numb3rs*. Goodbye, Roseanne. Hello, Liz Lemon!

On cable, however, there's a growing alternate universe of hit reality series about workers no one puts in sitcoms anymore. The highest-rated show on the Discovery Channel, *Deadliest Catch*, follows crews of Alaskan crab fishermen fighting storms, monster waves and other boats to haul wriggling paydays from the cruel, icy deep. The show's producer, Thom Beers, has followed up with the History Channel's *Ice Road Truckers* (about long-haul drivers in the Arctic), *Ax Men* (loggers in Oregon) and truTV's *Black Gold* (oil riggers in Texas), debuting in June. *Dirty Jobs* profiles salvage workers, plumbers and cattle inseminators, while *Tougher in Alaska* lionizes linemen, miners and other Last Frontiersmen who probably make your job look like cutting out paper dolls.

The shows are a kind of riposte to TV's upscale hits. You want an existential crisis? How about getting clocked across your freaking head with a steel chain?

On one level, the appeal of working-class TV is simple. Like such extreme-adventure shows as *Man vs. Wild*, the programs attract young males better than two-for-one pitchers. They're about men, almost exclusively: men sweating and swearing, men powered by coffee and doughnuts, men revving heavy equipment to heavy-metal sound tracks. But they're also a kind of riposte to the smirkiness and high-class problems of TV's up-



scale hits. You want an existential crisis? How about getting clocked across your freaking head with a steel oil-drill chain? And whereas big-network TV offers a fantasy of perfection, working-class TV offers a fantasy of authenticity. On NBC, an American Gladiator is a beefcake model in a unitard swinging his padded quarterstaff. (Read into "padded quarterstaff" whatever symbolism you like.) Cable's gladiators are paunchy guys with beards hauling ass to fell a tree or outrace a squall.

These shows don't address class directly, at least not by the American dollars-and-cents definition. The jobs pay well—$75,000 a year for a rookie rigger on *Black Gold*. The class difference lies in the attitude toward money. TV doctors and lawyers don't talk salary—they, like many upper-middle-class professionals, can take comfort and stability relatively for granted. But here, everything is denominated in dollar terms. You hear the price tag whenever a saw gets lost ($1,000) or a pipe gets jammed ($50,000) or a worker calls in sick ($1,000 an hour in company revenue). Economic risk is as ever present as the physical danger, and—by pushing workers to go faster and harder—one feeds the other. The workers know precisely how much everything costs, not just the crab and the crude but also their family time, their rest, even their safety.

There's a show-biz reason for the money focus: *Deadliest Catch* and its offspring have competition elements, with work crews keeping score by dollars earned, loads hauled, etc. Like *Survivor*, they have overdramatic narratives and editing. (Guess what? Most doctors don't look like McDreamy either.)

But *isn't* work a competition, especially in tough times? Underneath all the Hollywood packaging, there's something universal in these shows. Beyond the grit, the series tell ordinary stories about working and living under stress. How do you get your lazy son or brother to shape up and contribute to the family business? What's it like to have to fire a buddy? What do you do when your wife is expecting a baby any day but you can't pass up a job?

Working-class TV may draw in viewers with the sensational promise of danger. (In *Ax Men*, computer animation shows what would happen if a logger got speared by a falling branch.) But underneath that is the scary reality, not unique to drillers and fishermen, of surviving boom-and-bust capitalism with no safety net. *Deadliest Catch* and its ilk celebrate rather than pity their heroes. But for all the big paydays the characters' work can bring, the shows never forget that hard times are one slipup or bad break away. That's the catch, and it's a deadly one. ■

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Joe Klein

Straw-Man Diplomacy. McCain is trying to brand Obama as soft on Iran. He should get his own facts straight first

ON THE FRIDAY BEFORE THE 2004 PRESIdential election, Osama bin Laden released a videotape slamming George W. Bush, which more than a few people took as a tacit endorsement of John Kerry. The CIA saw it differently, though. According to Ron Suskind's fine book, *The One Percent Doctrine*, Deputy Director John McLaughlin said, "Bin Laden certainly did a nice favor today for the President." It seemed obvious to the top CIA analysts that bin Laden wanted to keep Bush—who had let the terrorists off the hook in Afghanistan and launched the war in Iraq, a great recruiting tool for al-Qaeda—in power.

Which raises the question: Who are the bad guys rooting for in 2008? John McCain would have you believe the answer is clear. Barack Obama wants to meet with the leaders of enemy states, especially Iran, "which would increase their prestige," McCain says, and convey the impression of American weakness. To punctuate the point, McCain persistently barks that Obama wants to meet with the Iranian President, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, a flagrant anti-Semite but a relatively powerless figurehead. Obama did say during a debate last summer that he would meet with foreign leaders without preconditions. "He shorthanded the answer," Senator Joe Biden recently said. Ever since, Obama has been creatively fuzzy when asked directly if he would meet with Ahmadinejad—and he has begun to point out that the real leaders of Iran are the clerics led by the Supreme Leader Ayatullah Ali Khamenei, who controls Iran's foreign policy and its nuclear program. Obama has also been explicit about the need to start with lower-level talks, a presidential summit coming only if there were progress in those negotiations. In his previous, straight-talking incarnation, McCain would have allowed Obama the modifications to his shorthand answer and debated the issue on the merits. Not this year.

When I asked McCain on May 19 why he kept linking Obama to Ahmadinejad, he said that Ahmadinejad represents Iran at the U.N., which is a fair point, and that the "average American" thinks he's the leader of Iran, which he isn't. Indeed, it could be argued that McCain's Ahmadinejad obsession "increases the prestige" of a relatively powerless loudmouth for domestic political gain. Linking Obama to the world's most famous anti-Semite certainly doesn't hurt McCain among Jewish retirees in Florida, a swing state. In any case, don't be surprised if Ahmadinejad pulls a bin Laden and "denounces" McCain just before the election this year.

The last thing Iran's leaders want is a U.S. President who doesn't play the role of the Great Satan. A saber-rattling foe distracts from their utter incompetence

Why? Because the last thing Iran's leaders want is an American President who doesn't play the role of the Great Satan. They need the mirage of an implacable, saber-rattling foe to distract their population from the utter incompetence of their government. An American President who said, "Let's talk," would lead an awful lot of Iranians to ask their leaders, "Why aren't you talking?" That was certainly the case after the reformer Mohammed Khatami won a surprise landslide election to become the Iranian President in 1997. The Clinton Administration began making quiet diplomatic overtures toward Khatami, and a handshake between Clinton and him was choreographed for the 2000 U.N. General Assembly meeting—but Khatami backed out at the last minute, under pressure from his clerical superiors. In recent Iranian elections, the mullahs have made sure that reformers like Khatami were ineligible to run for the presidency and the Iranian parliament—although there are indications that Khamenei considers Ahmadinejad to be an unnecessarily bellicose embarrassment as well.

This recent history provides sobering lessons for both Obama and McCain. For Obama, it demonstrates just how difficult any attempt to engage Iran's leaders will be. A more prudent course would probably be to ignore Iran at first and try to engage Syria, which has been dropping all sorts of hints that it is ready to talk to both the U.S. and Israel. For McCain, the lesson is the opposite: Why on earth does he want to keep making the same mistake Bush did and play the caricature Great Satan? A more prudent course would be to stow the tough-guy rhetoric, appear more reasonable, while aggressively—militarily—going after the violent jihadis in Afghanistan, Pakistan and elsewhere.

That doesn't seem to be McCain's way, however. He is all bluster and impatience. If nothing else, his assault on Obama has renewed questions about whether McCain has the temperament to be President. A few years ago, in friendlier times, the Senator and I talked about the Cuban missile crisis. At a crucial moment, John F. Kennedy received two messages from the Soviets—one bellicose, one accommodating. He chose to ignore the bellicose message and very likely saved the world. "You probably would've chosen the wrong message," I teased McCain. "I probably would have," he laughed. He was joking, but given his behavior of late, you've got to wonder. ■

ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY STEPHEN KRONINGER; MCCAIN: PAT SULLIVAN—AP; AHMADINEJAD: MAJID—GETTY

What Does She Want?

The primaries nearly done, the Democrats need to make peace. Will Hillary push to be Obama's Veep pick? Hint: Bill wants her to

BY KAREN TUMULTY

A GRACEFUL EXIT IS NEVER EASY in a business as fraught with ego and ambition as presidential politics. Which is why in recent days, quiet calls have started going out to key supporters of Hillary Clinton who are showing signs of wanting to jump ship. Clinton's emissaries point out that she is no longer attacking Barack Obama, and they promise she won't start again. Allow her to ride out the last few primaries, they argue, and she won't do anything to make it difficult for her longtime allies to switch their allegiances when the time comes.

The latest round of calls was a tacit admission that while the battles aren't over, the war has been lost. It also raises the question, What will Clinton's terms of surrender turn out to be? Her husband, for one, seems to have a pretty clear idea what he thinks she should get as a consolation prize. In Bill Clinton's view, she has earned nothing short of an offer to be Obama's running

'There is still a lot of enthusiasm and support out there for her. It's a valid question where that goes.'

—A LEADER OF A WOMEN'S ACTIVIST GROUP

Photograph for TIME by Diana Walker

A smooth departure
Among Clinton's potential consolation prizes: the Veep slot and help paying off her campaign debt

mate, according to some who are close to the former President. Bill "is pushing real hard for this to happen," says a friend. Hillary is more opaque about what she might want, divulging little even to those who see and talk to her every day. "It's as plain as the nose on your face that this whole thing has shifted to a different mode," says a top Clinton strategist. "But I don't know what she wants. I don't know what she's thinking."

Even if Clinton is not on the ticket, the list of things she might want could range from a tangible move like help in paying off some of her campaign debt to a symbolic gesture of homage at the Democratic National Convention. Obama's team knows that Clinton and her crew above all are likely to want respect to be paid for their efforts; beyond that, it is unclear what the tab will be. "There have been no discussions between the campaigns," says chief strategist David Axelrod. "There's been no back-channel negotiations. We're respectful of her and her right to fight on." But

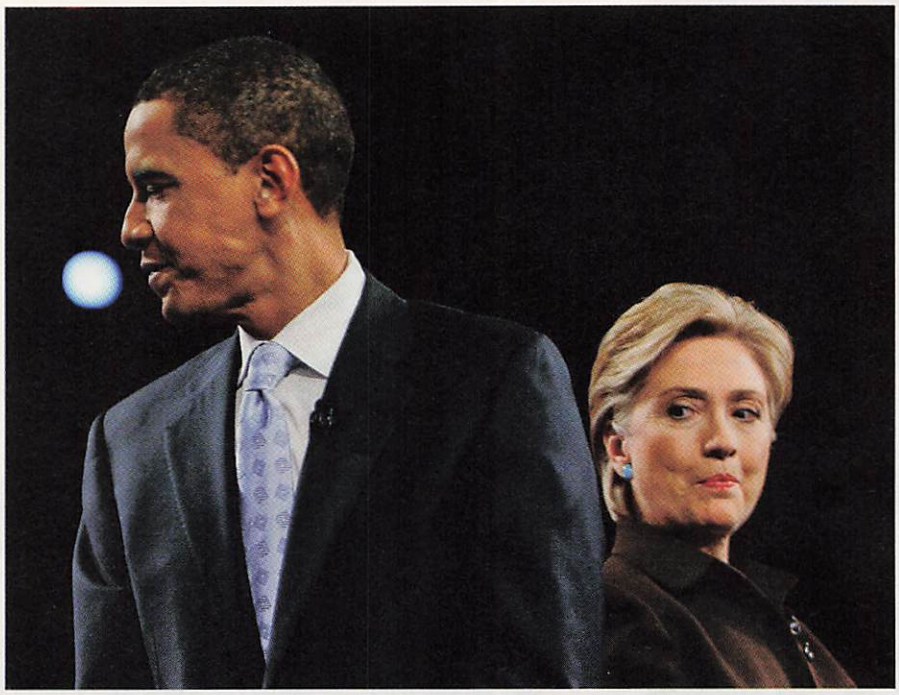
they know the time is rapidly approaching when the two campaigns are going to have to begin peace talks. And they anticipate, given everything they have learned about the Clintons, that the negotiations won't be easy. "We're expecting sort of the worst here," says a top Obama adviser.

How bad could it be? Or put another way, how much leverage does Clinton have? Certainly more than she did a month ago. Though she is unlikely to catch Obama in delegates, her lopsided victories in Kentucky and West Virginia have helped her narrow his lead in the popular-vote count to a virtual tie. She may even finish the primary season with more votes, if you count those from the disputed primaries in Michigan and Florida. That gives her bragging rights for the No. 2 spot or for other demands. "This is about making her pile of chips bigger so she can use them to bargain with when the voting is done," says a longtime backer, who also believes she is making a play for a place on the ticket.

Some of Clinton's own strategists are doubtful that Obama will offer to make her his running mate—in no small part because that would mean bringing Bill aboard. Her presence on the ticket would also undercut Obama's core message of change and his promise of a new brand of politics. However, advisers say that in the interest of unifying the party, there may well be a good argument for tapping one of the Clintons' high-profile supporters, such as Indiana Senator Evan Bayh or Ohio governor Ted Strickland.

But neither of them would give Obama an automatic entrée to crucial voter groups that Clinton won—women, Latinos, older voters, blue-collar whites—and that in many key states have appeared to be beyond his reach. "There is still a lot of enthusiasm and support out there for her," says a leader of a women's activist organization. "It is a valid question where that goes after June 3"—the date of the last Democratic primaries. In that regard, exit polls from her lopsided win over Obama in Kentucky pointed in an ominous direction: only a third of those who voted for her said they would support Obama over John McCain in the fall. By comparison, 71% of Obama voters said they would vote for her if their candidate did not win the nomination. Some of Clinton's women supporters are angry at what they see as sexist treatment of their candidate. A newly formed political-action committee calling itself WomenCount claimed it had raised $230,000 in four days after running full-page newspaper ads across the country that proclaimed, "Not so fast... Hillary's voice is OUR voice, and she's speaking for all of us."

Some of Clinton's strategists doubt that Obama will offer to make her his running mate—in part because that would mean bringing Bill aboard



Cease-fire *Clinton has tempered her criticism of Obama, who in turn lauded her "courage"*

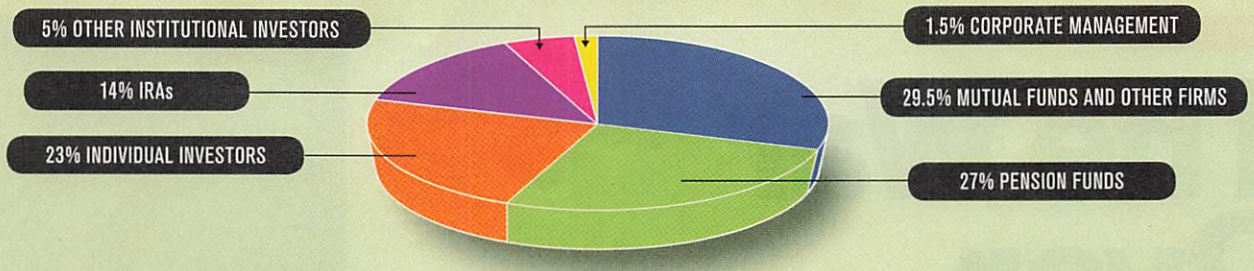
Given that sentiment, how Obama treats Clinton—and vice versa—is likely to have as much impact on any final settlement between the camps as the final vote tallies. Jesse Jackson, who knows a thing or two about waging a long and bitter primary battle—and about reconciling when it is over—said recently, "The winner really needs the loser." But then he added that unless the loser gets over the "pain" of coming in second, the party is doomed. Nothing is more likely to bring the loser's supporters aboard than seeing their candidate throw herself wholeheartedly behind the winner. On the other hand, when the postprimary relationship doesn't gel—Democrats remember how excruciating it was to see Jimmy Carter practically chasing Ted Kennedy across the stage to grab his hand at the 1980 convention in New York City—it can be fatal.

That message has been received by Obama. He stopped short of claiming the nomination after the Oregon primary on May 20. In his speech that night in Des Moines, Iowa, he praised Clinton's "courage and her commitment" and added, "Some may see the millions and millions of votes cast for each of us as evidence that our party is divided. But I see it as proof we have never been more ... united." When he praised Clinton for helping to shatter barriers in politics that had long held women back, he was using phrases that were very close to those that had been suggested by several Clinton-camp followers. One measure of Obama's desire for peace will be whether he ignores objections from some of his most stalwart backers and helps Clinton pay off her $20 million–plus campaign debt, either by headlining events on her behalf or by appealing to his donors to help her. There is an urgency to this task: she has only until late August to raise the cash from donors to repay herself more than $11 million she has personally loaned her campaign.

Perhaps the knottiest question in the end will be this: If the vice presidency is not in Clinton's future, what role will she be permitted to play at the convention? She has earned by effort alone a chance to speak there. Several party officials believe she is likely to insist that her name be placed in nomination on the first ballot, opening up all the divisions once again. Whether and how Clinton and Obama can work their way through the terms of surrender will tell voters a lot about both of them. And it could help determine whether a Democrat is elected in November.

—WITH REPORTING BY MICHAEL DUFFY AND MICHAEL WEISSKOPF/WASHINGTON ■

KEVORK DJANSEZIAN—AP



U.S. Oil and Natural Gas Company Ownership, 2007

Do you own an oil company?

Tens of millions of Americans own a piece of the U.S. oil and natural gas industry

If you've ever wondered who owns America's oil and natural gas companies, chances are the answer is, "you do."

Surprised?

The fact is that if you have a mutual fund account – and 55 million American households, with a median income of under $70,000, do – there's a good chance it invests in oil and natural gas company stocks. If you have an IRA or personal retirement account – and 45 million U.S. households do – there is a good chance it invests in energy stocks.

All this comes from a recent study* of U.S. oil and natural gas company ownership headed by Robert J. Shapiro, undersecretary of commerce for economic affairs under President Bill Clinton.

According to the study, the majority of the industry's shareholders are "middle-class U.S. households with mutual fund investments, pension accounts, other personal retirement accounts, and small personal portfolios."

What many may find particularly surprising is that our industry's corporate management owns only a tiny fraction of company shares.

Specifically, here is what the study found:

- 29.5 percent of U.S. oil and natural gas company shares are owned by mutual funds and other firms
- 27 percent are owned by pension funds
- Individual investors own 23 percent
- 14 percent are held in IRA accounts
- 5 percent are owned by other institutional investors
- 1.5 percent are held by corporate management (significantly less in the largest companies)

These findings tell us something very important: tens of millions of Americans have a stake in the U.S. oil and natural gas industry. When the industry's earnings are strong, the real winners are middle-class Americans, people investing in their retirement security or saving for their children's college education.

So when the political rhetoric gets hot about increasing energy taxes or taking "excess profits" from U.S. oil companies, it is important to step back, look at the facts, and ask yourself, "who does that really hurt?"

To read the full study, visit EnergyTomorrow.org.

THE *people* OF AMERICA'S OIL AND NATURAL GAS INDUSTRY

*SONECON: *The Distribution of Ownership of U.S. Oil and Natural Gas Companies*, September 2007

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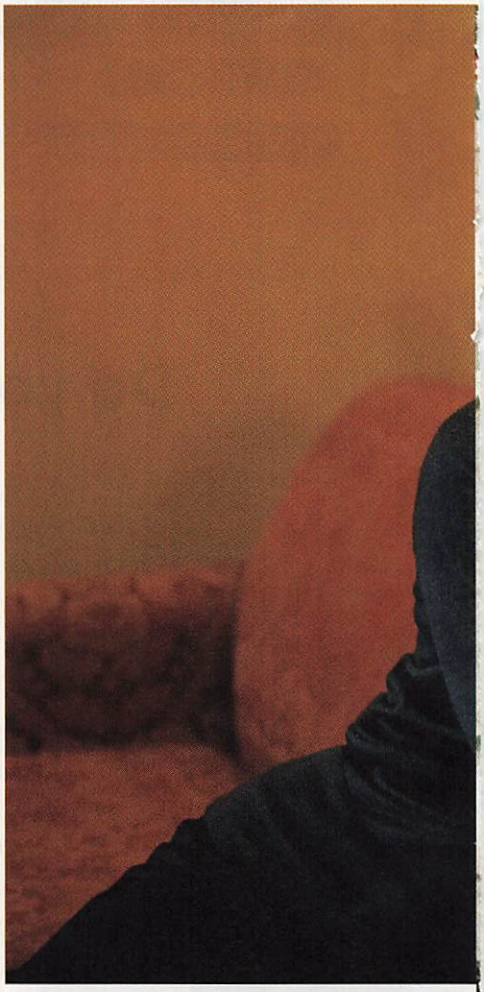
The War Over Michelle

She sings in a different key on the campaign trail, which has made her a powerful surrogate—and a prime target

BY NANCY GIBBS AND JAY NEWTON-SMALL



THROUGH THE PRIMARIES, MICHELLE Obama was such an effective proxy for her husband that Obama aides nicknamed her "the Closer" because she'd get more commitment cards signed at her rallies than the candidate did at his. At 44, she is vivid, engaging, part therapist, part professor, part girlfriend who comes over for coffee and tells you hard truths about the stupid mistakes you're making.

But in recent weeks, Michelle has also become a favorite target of conservatives, who attack her with an exuberance that suggests there are no taboos anymore. The latest strike came from the Tennessee Republican Party, which posted a YouTube ad ridiculing Michelle's now famous "For the first time in my adult lifetime, I am really proud of my country" remark. That prompted Barack Obama to throw down a gauntlet of his own. "I would never think of going after somebody's spouse in a campaign," he told Robin Roberts of *Good Morning America*. "She loves this country ... And especially for people who purport to be promoters of family values ... to start attacking my wife in a political campaign, I think, is detestable."

Such pushback may have been an act of chivalry in the face of talk-radio furies and bloggers attacking, as one commenter did, "the bitter, anti-American, ungrateful, rude, crude, ghetto, angry Michelle Obama." But it also may signal that as attention turns to the general campaign, Michelle could be a liability as well as an asset. Her speeches can sound stark and stern compared with her husband's roof raisers. He's all about the promise; she's more about the problem. It's not just that she says times are hard and "we're not where we need to be"; with that, the vast majority of the country agrees. She goes further, worrying out loud about the country's lack of fairness, the corrosive cynicism of its citizens and how Americans "spend more time talking about what we can't do, what won't work, what can't change" than about what is possible. "The challenges that we are really facing have very little to do with health care and all the practical things that people like to think about," she told TIME. "At our core, it is how we see one another. That's how it all starts for me." So the test may be, in the weeks ahead, How will voters see her? And is her understanding of the state of our union one that they share?

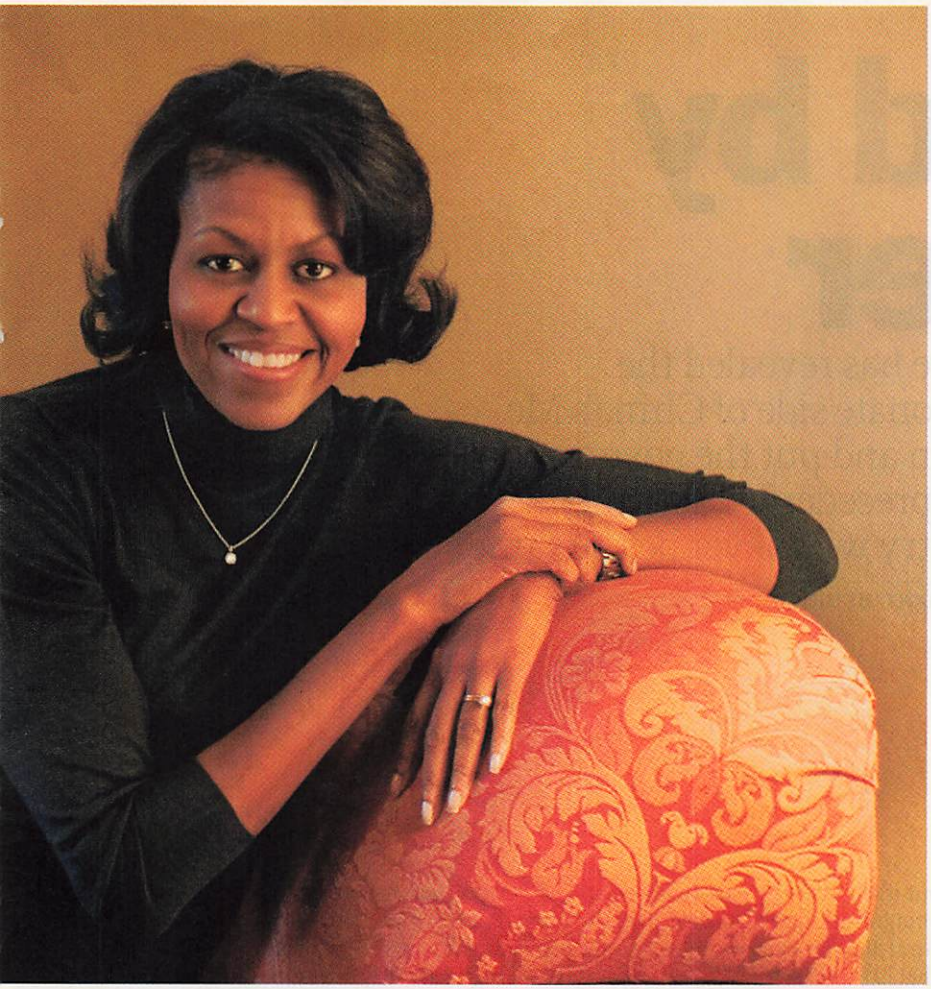
IT'S A LITTLE BRAZEN FOR OBAMA TO SAY his wife can't be a target when he uses her as a shield, like a charm against charges that his own biography is somehow too exotic, too alien, too Jeremiah Wright and not enough Norman Rockwell. In his telling, her life as a Chicago city worker's daughter whose family ate dinner together every night, who made it from public schools to the Ivy League to the long, twisting road to the White House, is a tribute to "an America that didn't just reward wealth but the work and the workers who created it."

In the early going, Michelle Obama was not an obvious conservative target, since in some obvious ways she's so conservative herself. When asked what her priorities as First Lady would be, she said her only cause would be giving her children a decent upbringing in the White House. She seems indifferent to the prospect of her power. She doesn't expound on her husband's five-point plans; she just tells her story, whose bass notes are the deep hum of family, work, sacrifice, aspiration. You can watch her in her triple pearls, hear about her love of mac and cheese and reruns of *The Dick Van Dyke Show* and imagine her as the most traditional First Lady since the ones named Bush.

In her stump speech, her tribute to her father can bring a crowd to tears. Struck with multiple sclerosis, he went to work on crutches; he never was late, never gave up and never complained. He put two children through Princeton, writing each check with pride. "My father, like most Americans, just wanted to know that after a lifetime of hard work and sacrifice that one day, he could put his feet up and look over all that he had done and retire with a little respect and dignity," she says. "That's what most Americans want."

She says she tells the stories to let people know we're not so different from one another, since if we don't realize how much we have in common, we'll never get anything done. And then she lays out her

Photograph for TIME by Callie Shell—Aurora



Supersurrogate *Michelle Obama is her husband's "rock," "the love of my life"—and at the center of a conservative storm*

IN HER WORDS

'Barack will never let you go back to your lives as usual, uninvolved, uninformed.'

—FEB. 3, 2008, SPEECH AT UCLA

'We can no longer make choices in this nation based on fear.'

—MAY 2, 2008, SPEECH IN NORTH CAROLINA

case: the days when a father could support a family on a city worker's salary are long past. She paints a picture of crumbling neighborhoods and failing schools, unavailable health care, shrinking pensions, single parents working double shifts. "This has been the case for my entire lifetime," she says, and warns that "we're raising a generation of 'young doubters,'" children who are insular and timid. "They don't try, because they already heard us tell them why they can't succeed."

This is, apparently, too much for some conservatives. They hear "whining" from a woman preaching a "Gospel of Misery," about everything from her student loans to the high cost of piano lessons. When she describes the steadily deteriorating conditions during her lifetime, they counter with the stats: rising home ownership, falling poverty, a quadrupling of the population with a college degree, an explosion of science and technology and opportunity. When she says that "before we can work on the problems, we have to fix our souls," conservative blogger and radio star Hugh Hewitt levels his warning: "Whenever someone from the government comes to you and says, 'We have to fix your soul,' be very afraid ... No one believes outside of the hard-core left that government can fix your soul." The *National Review* put a glowering picture of Michelle on its April cover, called her "Mrs. Grievance" and declared that "Michelle Obama embodies a peculiar mix of privilege and victimology which is not where most Americans live."

They are probably right to think that most Americans have a happier impression of the past 40 years. But the skies have clouded in the past year, and this time around, the attacks make one wonder how those who find Michelle Obama's gritty realism out of bounds would mount a campaign in this climate. By suggesting everything is swell? By gliding silently over the battered economic landscape at home in order to talk instead only about terrorism abroad? That is certainly not where most Americans live either.

Those who hear Michelle in person often talk about feeling that they are seeing for the first time a political figure who understands what their lives are really about. "It was like she was telling our story," says Amindi Imoh, 18, a sophomore at the University of South Carolina whose parents emigrated from Nigeria in 1981, who was especially moved by Michelle's description of her childhood. Michelle admits that she's had to learn to be more careful about everything she says. "She doesn't want to become the news," says a campaign aide. "She wants to be a character witness for her husband."

Whether by coincidence or by design, she has brightened her message recently, talking less about what's wrong than about what's possible. "We live in isolation sometimes, but the truth is that people want the same thing. They're tired of the divisions, they want peace, they want fairness, they want equity," she told a group of phone-bank volunteers on May 19 in Louisville, Ky. "They're willing to sacrifice. They're willing to put things that are valuable to them on the table for the greater good."

It's a cliché of American politics that even in hard times—or maybe especially then—people always vote for the optimist. This does not mean we wish our problems away; only that in good times or bad, we want to think we face obstacles with ingenuity and grit. Maybe Michelle Obama is telling hard truths. Or maybe her truths are not as widely shared as she suggests. Barack Obama's "Yes, We Can" stump speech is wrapped around American decency and imagination. Her story has heroes too, but she doesn't bother to keep the stragglers in the closet. Her voice in this race is one more reminder of the new road we are traveling. The 2008 campaign is its own frontier: a race in which candidates on both sides talk about the need to come together as a country, even as their life experiences speak to the depth of the differences between us. ■

Roused by Disaster

The quake has revealed the compassionate side of China's Me generation and put the government under unprecedented scrutiny. The country will never be the same

BY SIMON ELEGANT/BEIJING

THE HIGHWAY LEADING TO YINGXIU, a small town near the epicenter of China's May 12 earthquake, is rent by fissures big enough to swallow a child and is choked with smashed trucks and enormous rocks. Near the town's outskirts, just past a car that has been crushed by a boulder, a landslide cuts off the road entirely. A mother who walked into the mountains beyond to bring out her 12-year-old son says he's been scarred by what he's seen. The landscape they are leaving behind is hellish, she says—putrefying bodies, collapsed schools, buried roads and rows of wrecked houses. But the situation doesn't faze two friends who have traveled here by train, car and, finally, on foot to help victims of the Wenchuan earthquake. Dressed in white T shirts reading I ♥ CHINA, the men are determined to reach the core of the devastation. "After we saw the news of the disaster, we decided we had to help," says Wu Guanglei, a 36-year-old high school physics teacher from Zigong, a town 186 miles (300 km) to the south. "We Chinese people are growing closer and closer together," says Wu Xiangping, 28, who took a leave from his job at a Beijing advertising firm to join the relief effort. "And because of that, the country's morality is rising too."

These simple observations, stated with a tinge of hope and pride, crystallize much of what China as a nation has learned about itself over the past two weeks. The 8.0-magnitude quake, the country's worst natural disaster in more than 30 years, has probably killed at least 50,000 and has left more than 5 million homeless, according to official sources. Horrific videos from the disaster zone—the twisted bodies of children layered like fossils in the sediment of a pancaked concrete schoolhouse, the desperate decision to amputate the legs of a dying girl pinned in rubble—forced the Chinese people to look into the abyss. And reflected was the image of a more compassionate nation than many had perhaps expected, where tens of millions of Chinese lined up for hours to make sure their donations of cash or food or clothes were accepted and where tens of thousands of others like the Wus left their jobs and families and rushed to aid their compatriots. The roads to the disaster zone were jammed with cars carrying banners that read RESIST THE QUAKE: PROVIDE RELIEF and WHEN ONE HAS DIFFICULTY, EIGHT ASSIST. The traffic was so overwhelming that authorities had to close the roads and turn back volunteers. So many clothes were contributed that they were piled in mounds six feet (two meters) high in some devastated towns. Within days, contributions from the country's private companies, not known for their charity, had hit a billion dollars and were still rising.

'We Chinese people are growing closer and closer together. And because of that, the country's morality is rising too.'
—WU XIANGPING, 28, VOLUNTEER

The outpouring of support has been a revelation. For years, China's citizens couldn't watch the evening news without being reminded of their darker side, of the grasping, reckless self-interest that has characterized China's headlong rush to become wealthy and powerful—stories of slave labor and child-kidnapping rings, rampant government corruption, counterfeit products, tainted food, dangerous toys and, lately, the brutal crackdown on dissent in Tibet. But from a monstrous humanitarian crisis has come a new self-awareness, a recognition of the Chinese people's sympathy and generosity of spirit. The earthquake has been a "shock of consciousness," as Wenran Jiang, a China scholar at the University of Alberta, puts it, a collective epiphany when the nation was suddenly confronted with how much it had changed in two decades of booming growth and how some changes have been for the better.

Of course, when the national emergency abates, much of China will revert to its

TOP: CHINA PHOTOS—GETTY

Photographs for TIME by Ian Teh

Citizen army *Volunteers at a sports stadium in the town of Mianyang, above. A landslide scatters survivors in Lixiang County, opposite page*

familiar ways. But something fundamental has changed. There is a new confidence in the ability, even duty, of ordinary Chinese to contribute to building a more virtuous society and a willingness to press the government for the right to do so. Most of those volunteering were doing so for the first time, for example, and many said they were eager to do more community work in the future. Says Jiang: "It's a major leap forward in the formation of China's civil society, which is vital for China's future democratization process." That doesn't mean the Wenchuan earthquake will lead directly to elections in the next few years, but the complex and shifting relationship between the Communist Party and increasingly vociferous Chinese citizens will probably evolve into some form of compromise between autocratic control and Western-style democracy.

It's not just China's self-perception that has changed. The quake has altered, at least temporarily, the world's perception of China, whose growing economic and military might is viewed with suspicion and fear in many quarters. China's relationship with the democratic West has been particularly strained of late, after March's bloody demonstrations in Tibet and the chaotic protests that dogged the Olympic-torch relay. But the quake, coming just 10 days after Cyclone Nargis ripped into Burma, has cast the Chinese government in a different light. By blocking foreign aid, Burma's paranoid military junta demonstrated just how impotent and callous to the suffering of its citizens a repressive autocracy can be. But even Beijing's critics expressed admiration for China's swift response to the quake.

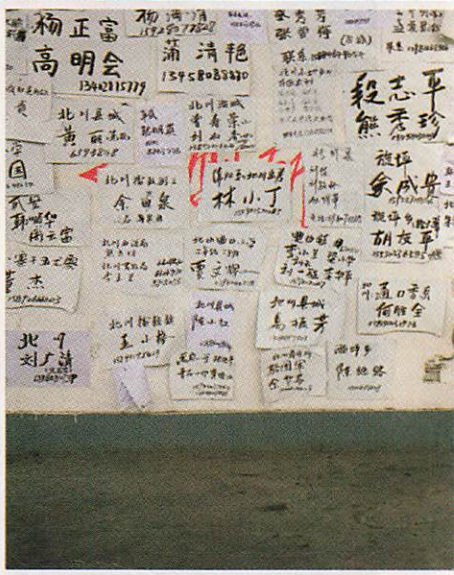
In turn, some of China's most xenophobic bloggers have expressed astonishment at the sympathy shown for China by the rest of the world, the donations of cash and goods and the dispatch of foreign search-and-rescue teams, doctors and other personnel. The outpouring of international goodwill "has changed everything," says a senior Western diplomat based in Beijing. "Now many people will be cheering for the Chinese and hoping they pull off a good show at the Olympics. That will be pivotal for China's self-confidence and its perception of its place in the world."

A Nation's Agony

IF THE CRISIS HAD A DEFINING MOMENT, it came on May 19 at 2:28 p.m., exactly a week after the quake. That was when the entire country paused for three minutes. Traffic came to a halt, flags were lowered to half-mast, and Chinese everywhere stood in oft tearful silence to honor the victims of the Wenchuan quake, named for the county at its epicenter. Drivers honked their horns, and factories sounded their sirens in a collective wail of agony. The ritual marked the start of three days of national mourning, during which Internet activities like online gaming were halted and all TV channels except those broadcasting news were blacked out.

This cathartic outpouring of national grief helped put to rest the notion that China lacks civic spirit. Academics have long argued that Confucian ideals, which emphasize duty to family, have mutated over the millenniums into a national mentality that views contributions to nonrelatives as a waste of precious personal resources. This trait was exaggerated by the beggar-thy-neighbor capitalism that has been Chinese society's driving force for the past two decades. Charitable donations from individuals and businesses in China amount to about 0.09% of the GDP, compared with 2% in the U.S.

But in the space of a few weeks, China has shown that not only do its people know how to grieve but they also know how to give. And the charity isn't coming from just private companies and wealthy citizens; many of those donating are poor Chinese making enormous sacrifices. Waiting patiently in line at the Red Cross Society of China office in Beijing on May 19 was Liang Baoying, a 63-year-old retired teacher. Clutching an envelope containing the equivalent of $287—her monthly



The homeless and the hopeful *Survivors shelter in the Mianyang stadium, top; messages from those looking for missing loved ones, above*

pension—Liang tearfully said she could no longer watch news of the quake on TV because it was too sad. "I believe this is a national tragedy, so we have no choice but to give. I'm sure the Red Cross will use the donation properly."

Thousands are doing even more. The *China Youth Daily* reported that an estimated 200,000 citizen volunteers from all over China have descended on the quake zone, providing food, shelter and medical treatment, their convoys of vehicles sometimes causing traffic jams on the narrow mountains roads of Sichuan province. Private aid takes many forms—beef trucked from Inner Mongolia, sleeping bags shipped from Shenzhen, building materials from Chongqing, millions of bottles of water and packets of instant noodles. Volunteers are working in areas overlooked by government relief efforts. In the village of Yongan, south of the devastated city of Beichuan, quake victims, from the very young to the very old, line the road, waiting for the citizen cavalry to arrive. "We're counting on volunteers to bring us food," says Wang Shaoqing, 82. As he speaks, children run up to the cars of volunteers, who stop and hand them food and water bottles through the windows.

The dedication of the volunteers has been covered in the state media with almost the same enthusiasm that's been given to the performance of the 120,000 People's Liberation Army troops and paramilitary police officers in the disaster area. The normally muzzled Chinese press has been freed by the information ministry to saturate the airwaves with quake coverage. The leash on the Internet was also loosened. Popular blogs have been uncensored; commentators posting to mainstream discussion forums were even allowed to criticize the government's handling of some aspects of the relief—the failure to use helicopters for the first three days after the quake, for example.

As surprising as the freedom is the sophistication of the coverage. It's on television and radio round the clock, and newspapers have put out special editions. An anchor even dressed down a reporter on air for broadcasting from the comfort of her hotel room rather than venturing into the field. "Three to five years ago, both the state media and the online world simply wouldn't have had the energy, experience or skill to do coverage on this scale," says Xiao Qiang, a Chinese-media expert at the University of California, Berkeley. "It's going to progress just as much in the next three to five years too. It's not going to be total media freedom, but it is a big step in the empowerment of China's civil society."

Unlikely Hero, Familiar Villains

ONE OF THE MOST WIDELY PRAISED ASpects of the relief operation was the speed and scale with which the government responded. And to Chinese and foreigners alike, the man primarily responsible for that was the country's Premier, Wen Jiabao, 65. Within two hours of the earthquake, Wen was on a plane to the disaster area, and for the next four days, Chinese TV was flooded with images of the increasingly exhausted-looking leader as he rallied the relief forces, offered succor to survivors and even choked up.

Wen has long been the human face of the Communist Party. Netizens responded rapturously. "I couldn't help crying when I saw the pictures of Premier Wen in the stricken region," wrote a poster in a typical comment. "I feel very safe to have a wonderful leader like this." The praise will reassure the party hierarchy. Having long since discarded their Marxist-Leninist ideology, China's leaders are increasingly dependent on the approval of the public for their legitimacy; the survival of the party may ultimately depend on its handling of crises.

Wen's star turn notwithstanding, the real danger to the party comes from its rotten base: the county and township officials whose corruption and venality have had the greatest impact on the lives of hundreds of millions of Chinese. There's sure to be a backlash over the number of children killed by the quake, buried in their classrooms as shoddily built schools collapsed around them. In the days following the quake, blogs and online message boards teemed with demands for answers as to why so many schools were destroyed. In one structure alone—the three-story Juyuan Middle School in Dujiangyan—at least 600 students died. "It was built out of tofu," says Hu Yuefu, 44, of the building that collapsed and killed his 15-year-old daughter Huishans. He holds local government officials and building contractors responsible. "I hope there is an investigation," Hu says. "Otherwise, there are a thousand parents who would beat them to death."

Corruption has proved an inflammatory issue in the past—it was one of the driving forces behind the Tiananmen Square protests in 1989—and mixed with student deaths, it could be explosive. Beijing's first instinct will be to sweep the schools scandal under the rug. Much of the online anger over the collapsed schools has been deleted, and all discussion of the topic has been banned. But the University of Alberta's Jiang says that as China's civil society develops, leaders know they must adapt. "It will be extremely tempting for the control types and ideologues to use the earthquake to glorify the party and to direct this new openness toward reporting only good news," he says. "But that will be one step backward out of two steps forward—no more."

It's hard to see how Beijing can stifle the civic impulses of the millions of Chinese who have been stirred into action by the humanitarian crisis. The earthquake has exposed how much China has changed and given a fleeting glimpse of what might be. The political and cultural aftershocks will roll on for years after the ground has ceased to tremble. —WITH REPORTING BY AUSTIN RAMZY AND LIN YANG/YINGXIU ■

The Short Tail

Technology is helping activists mobilize for their causes as never before. But is it too much of a good thing?

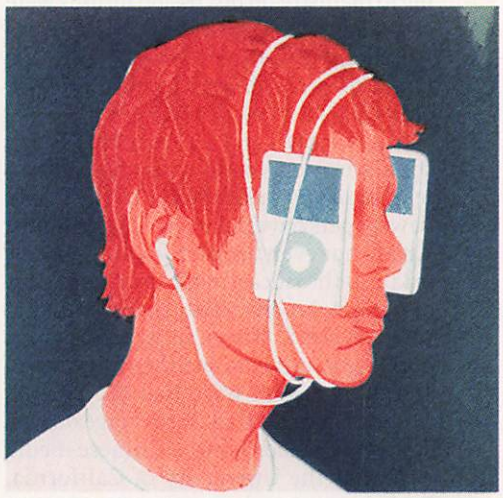
COMMENCEMENT SEASON IS UPON US, when students across the nation make familiar pledges to go forth and change the world. The explosion of social networks on the Internet—Facebook users have affiliated with more than 80,000 causes—has emboldened them to believe their generation will make change. But does new technology make it more or less likely that young people today will commit themselves to do something for others?

Let me start by confessing that I am a thirtysomething anachronism. I still read the hard copies of the New York *Times* and the Boston *Globe*, and I refuse to consider changing my habits. My students marvel at me the way I once marveled at my mother for being slow to get an e-mail account. They don't understand why right-thinking people would willfully make their hands dirty every day when they don't have to. To them I am like a person who takes a shower in the morning and then decides to do gardening before work. True, smudge isn't great, but it seems a small price to pay for what the newspaper offers: serendipitous discovery and wide-angle perspective.

I would not be doing what I do today if not for two encounters I never would have sought out on my own. After my freshman year in college, I interned in the sports department of the CBS affiliate in Atlanta and spent my days taking notes on the then hapless Braves' baseball games. One day news from Tiananmen Square suddenly interrupted the CBS feed. Chinese soldiers mauled students and then lunged toward the CBS cameraman filming the scene. I sat looking at my clipboard, wondering what on earth I was doing with my life. Three years later, I got a second push when the nightly news (all three networks!) and the New York *Times* showed images of emaciated Bosnian men imprisoned in concentration camps in Europe. I went off to the Balkans to cover the war as a freelance journalist.

Spared the burden of considering multiple parts of the world at once, advocates may not see the relationship of one foreign policy challenge to another

Much has been made of the convening and mobilizing power of today's technology. A person inspired by a cause can blog about their outrage and plot a response on Facebook with other similarly animated people. While any single congressional district might not produce a groundswell to demand a halt to global warming or killing in Darfur, a virtual community unmoored from geography can deliver a critical mass. And once converted, advocates are far better informed than a generation ago. They can hear the personal tales of aid workers over Skype. When the Western press steers clear, they can access and share local media reports. Thanks to what Chris Anderson called the "long tail," far more documentaries are available than when movie theaters and video stores catered only to the most popular side of the market. Netflix carries close to 7,500 documentaries, allowing people already immersed in a cause to deepen their knowledge and commitment—and enabling proselytizers to attract new adherents.



For many of us, though, technology has actually lowered the odds of bumping into inconvenient knowledge. If I had been setting up a Google alert in 1989, mine would not have been for "China" or "human rights." In 1992, I certainly would not have asked for stories on "concentration camps." When I'm abroad these days and have to go without my newspaper, I often turn to the most e-mailed stories on news websites, which are generally opinion pieces (rather than news stories), from which I cherry-pick arguments or facts that comport with my pre-existing views. Reading this way, I rarely stray from the familiar and soothing.

Amid the hoopla over new media, it is worth considering the costs of the personalization of news. Sure, viral YouTube videos of global conflicts and tragedies will occasionally find an audience, and movements may grow up around iconic new-media images as they did around the old. But while the long tail ensures once obscure documentaries remain available, citizen advocacy may have a short tail, causing the number of viable causes to get winnowed to a handful of megacauses. Burma may achieve the requisite market share, while Burundi fails to penetrate at all.

Further, the screen on which people view the world will narrow. Spared the burden of considering multiple parts of the world at once, single-issue advocates may have a hard time seeing the relationship of one foreign policy challenge to another. Viewing issues à la carte, they might be unable or unwilling to prioritize. To be fair, if young advocates fail to see the way Guantánamo has undermined U.S. efforts in Darfur, they are being no more tunnel-visioned than the Bush Administration. But they are the ones we are counting on to help turn things around. ■

ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY ALEX NABAUM

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How Safe Are Vaccines?

Parents worried that vaccines trigger autism are increasingly declining the shots for their kids. That's raising fears that long-dormant diseases could return. What the science says about the real risks—and what you should do

BY ALICE PARK

DAN HABIB—CONCORD MONITOR/CORBIS

Lying in wait
Six-week-old Gavin Hubbard of New Hampshire bravely faces his series of five immunizations in the comforting grasp of Mom

LIFE, IF YOU'RE A BACTERIUM OR virus, boils down to this: finding a pristine human home to provide for your every need, from food and nutrients to shelter against biological storms. As a microbial drifter, you can literally travel the world, hopping from host to host when the opportunity presents itself or when conditions at your temporary residence start heading south. There's no worry about taking along life's necessities either—viruses in particular are adept at traveling light; incapable of reproducing on their own, they think nothing of co-opting the reproductive machinery of their cellular sponsors to help them spawn generation after generation of freeloading progeny.

But ever since Edward Jenner, a country doctor in England, inoculated his son and a handful of other children against smallpox in 1796 by exposing them to cowpox pus, things have been tougher on humans' most unwelcome intruders. In the past century, vaccines against diphtheria, polio, pertussis, measles, mumps and rubella, not to mention the more recent additions of hepatitis B and chicken pox, have wired humans with powerful immune sentries to ward off uninvited invasions. And thanks to state laws requiring vaccinations for youngsters enrolling in kindergarten, the U.S. currently enjoys the highest immunization rate ever; 77% of children embarking on the first day of school are completely up to date on their recommended doses and most of the remaining children are missing just a few shots.

VACCINE TALLY

28

Number of doses of vaccines American children receive by age 2 if they get the complete schedule of immunizations recommended by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention

STAYING PROTECTED

77%

Percentage of kindergartners in the U.S. who are completely up to date on their vaccinations, in part because schools require it. This is the country's highest rate of immunization ever

OPTING OUT

2%-3%

Percentage of school-age children in the U.S. whose parents have received a religious or philosophical exemption from state vaccination requirements

Yet simmering beneath these national numbers is a trend that's working in the microbes' favor—and against ours. Spurred by claims that vaccinations can be linked to autism, increasing numbers of parents are raising questions about whether vaccines, far from panaceas, are actually harmful to children. When the immune system of a baby or young child is just coming online, is it such a good idea to challenge it with antigens to so many bugs? Have the safety, efficacy and side effects of this flood of inoculations really been worked through? Just last month the U.S. government, which has always stood by the safety of vaccines, acknowledged that a 9-year-old Georgia girl with a preexisting cellular disease had been made worse by inoculations she had received as an infant, which "significantly aggravated" the condition, resulting in a brain disorder with autism-like symptoms.

Though the government stressed that the case was an exceptional one, it provided exactly the smoking gun that vaccine detractors had been looking for and vaccine proponents had been dreading. More and more, all this wrangling over risks and benefits is leading confused parents simply to opt out of vaccines altogether. Despite the rules requiring students to be vaccinated, doctors can issue waivers to kids whose compromised immune system might make vaccines risky. Additionally, all but two states allow waivers for children whose parents object to vaccines on religious grounds; 20 allow parents to opt out on philosophical grounds. Currently, nearly one-half of 1% of kids enrolled in school are unvaccinated under a medical waiver; 2% to 3% have a nonmedical one, and the numbers appear to be rising.

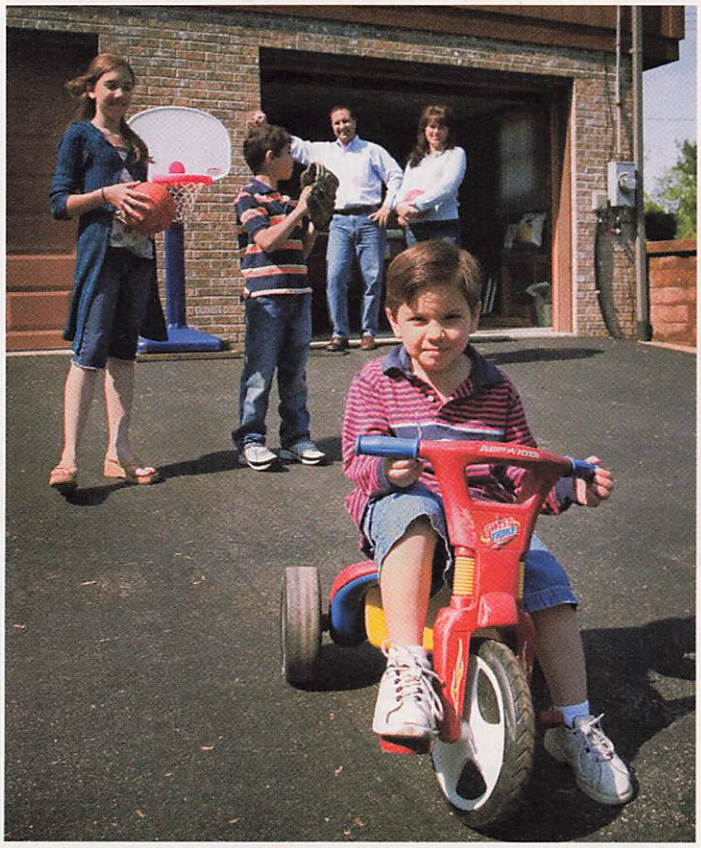
AUTISM

1 in 150

The prevalence of autism among 8-year-olds in the U.S. Autism rates have not declined, even though thimerosal, which some believe contributes to the disease, was removed from vaccines in 2001

Parents of these unimmunized kids know that as long as nearly all the other children get their shots, there should not be enough pathogen around to sicken anyone. But that's a fragile shield. Infectious-disease bugs continue to travel the globe, always ready to launch the next big public-health threat. Pockets of intentionally unvaccinated children provide a perfect place for a disease to squat, leading to outbreaks that spread to other unprotected kids, infants and the elderly. Ongoing measles outbreaks in four states are centered in such communities; one originated with an unimmunized boy from San Diego who contracted the virus while traveling in Europe—where the bug was thriving among intentionally unimmunized people in Switzerland. Dr. Anne Schuchat, director of the National Center for Immunization and Respiratory Diseases at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), says, "We are seeing more outbreaks that look different, concentrated among intentionally unimmunized people. I hope they are not the beginning of a worse trend."

If they are, it's possible that once rampant diseases such as measles, mumps and whooping cough will storm back, even in developed nations with robust public-health programs. That is forcing both policymakers and parents to wrestle with a dilemma that goes to the heart of democracy: whether the common welfare should trump the individual's right to choose. Parents torn between what's good for the world and what's good for their child will—no surprise—choose the child. But even then, they wonder if that means to opt for the vaccines and face the potential perils of errant chemistry or to decline the vaccines and face the dangers of the bugs. There is, as yet, no simple solution, but answers are emerging.



BILLY DELFS—WONDERFUL MACHINE FOR TIME

Close Call

Matthew Lacek, 5, nearly died after falling ill with Haemophilus influenzae *type b. He had not been vaccinated against the virus because his parents worried about the mercury in the shots. He is now up to date on all his vaccines*

The Autism Riddle

MORE THAN ANY OTHER ISSUE, THE QUESTION of autism has fueled the battle over vaccines. Since the 1980s, the number of vaccinations children receive has doubled, and in that same time, autism diagnoses have soared threefold. In 1998, British gastroenterologist Dr. Andrew Wakefield of London's Royal Free Hospital published a paper in the journal the *Lancet* in which he reported on a dozen young patients who were suffering from both autism-like developmental disorders and intestinal symptoms that included inflammation, pain and bloating. Eight of the kids began exhibiting signs of autism days after receiving the MMR vaccine against measles, mumps and rubella. While Wakefield and his co-authors were careful not to suggest that these cases proved a connection between vaccines and autism, they did imply, provocatively, that exposure to the measles virus could be a contributing factor to the children's autism. Wakefield later went on to speculate that virus from the vaccine led to inflammation in the gut that affected the brain development of the children.

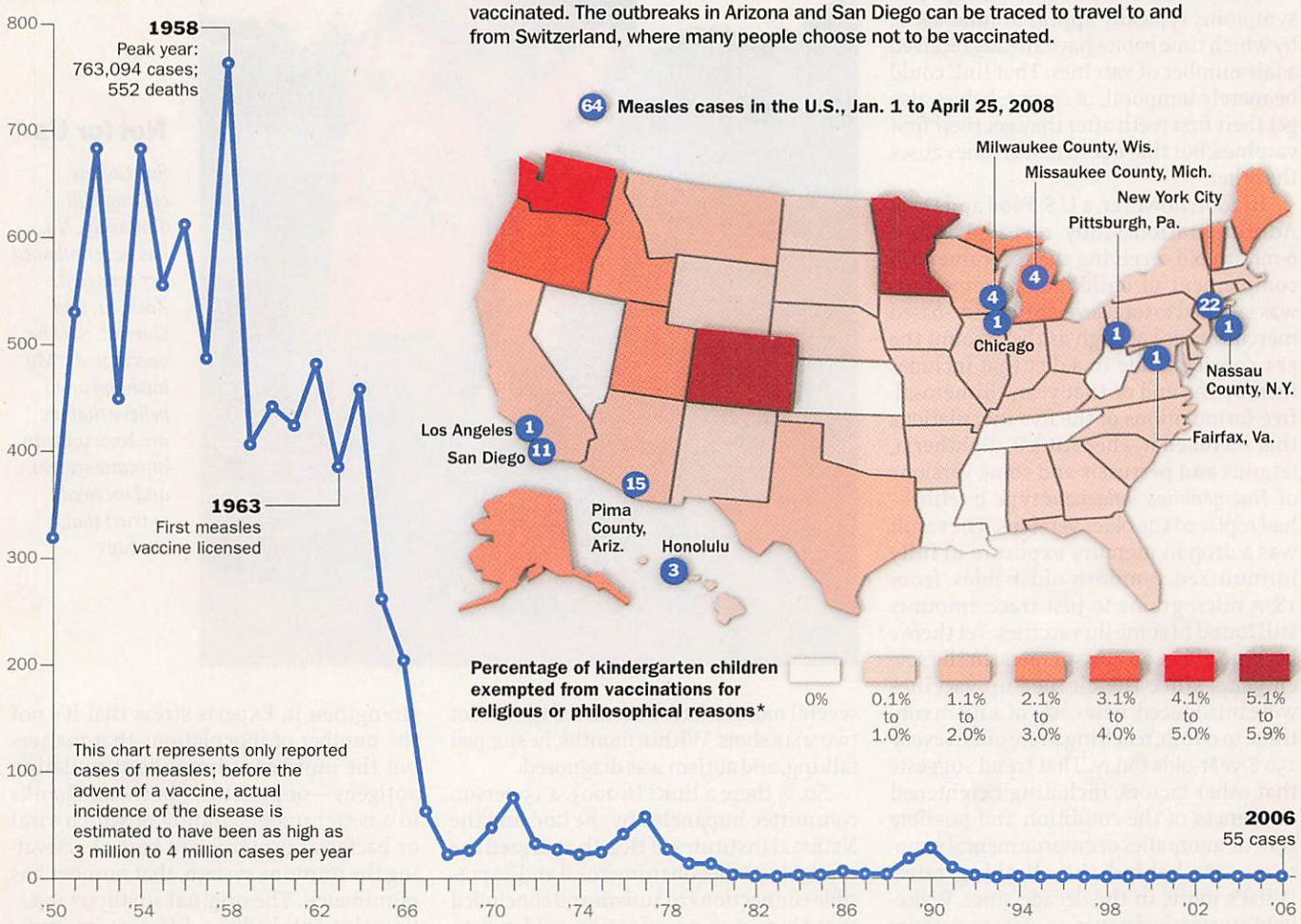
Like the initial tremor that triggers a massive earthquake, Wakefield's theories resonated throughout the autism community, where vaccines had been regarded with suspicion for another reason as well. Ever since the 1930s, a mercury compound known as thimerosal had been included

An Old Scourge Returns. Measles cases are on the rise as growing numbers of families forgo immunization

Reported Measles Cases

U.S., in thousands

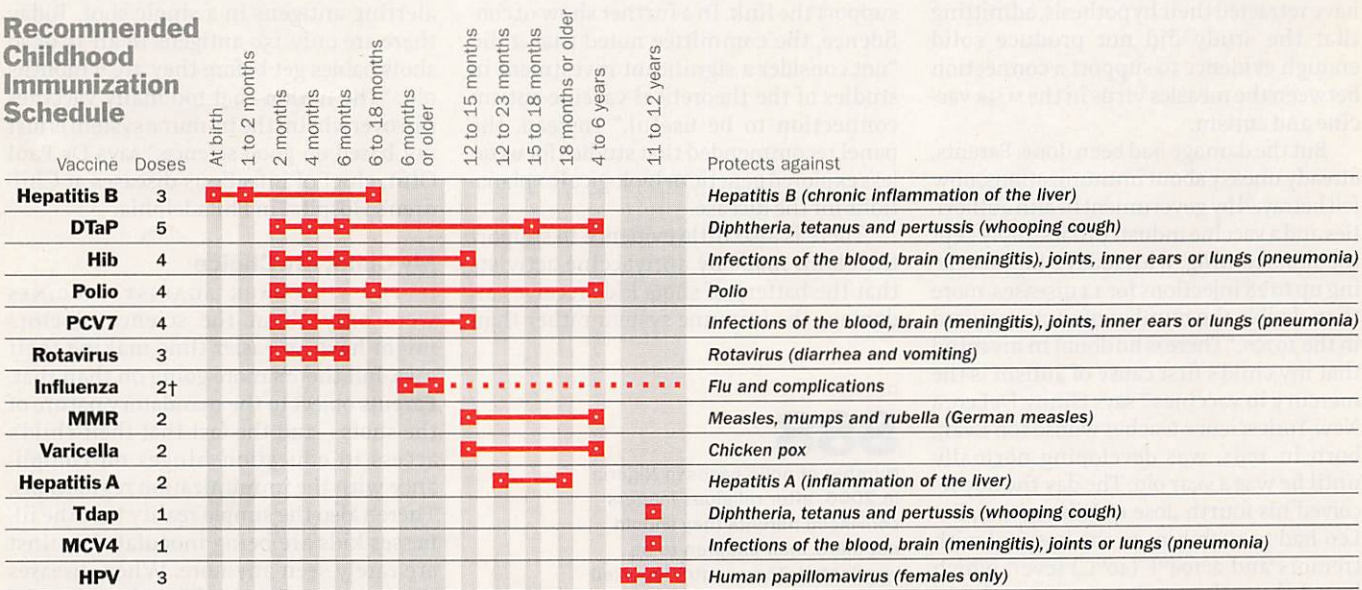
In the first four months of this year, 64 confirmed cases of measles were reported in the U.S., scattered across 11 hot spots. This is the most by this date for any year since 2001; 54 cases had links to other countries, and only one of the 64 patients had been vaccinated. The outbreaks in Arizona and San Diego can be traced to travel to and from Switzerland, where many people choose not to be vaccinated.



64 Measles cases in the U.S., Jan. 1 to April 25, 2008

Percentage of kindergarten children exempted from vaccinations for religious or philosophical reasons*

Recommended Childhood Immunization Schedule



Vaccine	Doses	Protects against
Hepatitis B	3	*Hepatitis B (chronic inflammation of the liver)*
DTaP	5	*Diphtheria, tetanus and pertussis (whooping cough)*
Hib	4	*Infections of the blood, brain (meningitis), joints, inner ears or lungs (pneumonia)*
Polio	4	*Polio*
PCV7	4	*Infections of the blood, brain (meningitis), joints, inner ears or lungs (pneumonia)*
Rotavirus	3	*Rotavirus (diarrhea and vomiting)*
Influenza	2†	*Flu and complications*
MMR	2	*Measles, mumps and rubella (German measles)*
Varicella	2	*Chicken pox*
Hepatitis A	2	*Hepatitis A (inflammation of the liver)*
Tdap	1	*Diphtheria, tetanus and pertussis (whooping cough)*
MCV4	1	*Infections of the blood, brain (meningitis), joints or lungs (pneumonia)*
HPV	3	*Human papillomavirus (females only)*

A child can safely receive all vaccines recommended for a particular age during one visit. Combination vaccines can be used to reduce the number of injections.

*State-reported data compiled by the CDC/National Center for Immunization and Respiratory Diseases, Immunization Services Division, Assessment Branch †One dose yearly thereafter

Source: CDC

in some vaccines—though not the measles inoculation—as a preservative to keep them free of fungi and bacteria. Thimerosal can do serious damage to brain tissue, especially in children, whose brains are still developing. It was perhaps inevitable that parents would make a connection between the chemical and autism, since symptoms typically appear around age 2, by which time babies have already received a fair number of vaccines. That link could be merely temporal, of course; babies also get their first teeth after they get their first vaccines, but that doesn't mean one causes the other.

In 2001, however, a U.S. Food and Drug Administration study revealed that a 6-month-old receiving the recommended complement of childhood vaccinations was exposed to total levels of vaccine-based mercury twice as high as the amount the EPA considers safe in a diet that includes fish. By the end of that year, thimerosal-free formulations of the five inoculations that included it—hepatitis B, diphtheria, tetanus and pertussis and some versions of *Haemophilus influenzae* type b (Hib)—had replaced the older versions. The result was a drop in mercury exposure in fully immunized 6-month-old babies from 187.5 micrograms to just trace amounts still found in some flu vaccines. Yet there's been no effect on autism rates. In the seven years since the cleaned-up vaccines were introduced, new cases of autism continue to climb, reaching a rate of 1 in every 150 8-year-olds today. That trend suggests that other factors, including heightened awareness of the condition and possible genetic anomalies or environmental exposures, are behind the climbing rates. What's more, in the decade since Wakefield's watershed paper, 10 of its 13 authors have retracted their hypothesis, admitting that the study did not produce solid enough evidence to support a connection between the measles virus in the MMR vaccine and autism.

But the damage had been done. Parents, already uneasy about immunizations, now felt betrayed by government health authorities and a vaccine industry that simply kept the shots coming, with today's kids receiving up to 28 injections for 14 diseases, more than double the number of shots required in the 1970s. "There is no doubt in my mind that my child's first cause of autism is the mercury in vaccines," says Ginny DeLeo, a New York science teacher whose son Evan, born in 1993, was developing normally until he was a year old. The day the boy received his fourth dose of Hib vaccine, DeLeo had to rush him to the hospital with tremors and a 104°F (40°C) fever, which later led to seizures. Evan recovered, and several months later he received the first of two MMR shots. Within months, he stopped talking, and autism was diagnosed.

PETER MURPHY FOR TIME

Not for Us

Sue Collins of Long Hill Township, N.J., has never allowed her sons (left, Zach, 11, and Garrett, 8) to be vaccinated. "My husband and I believe that we are born with an immune system, and we need to trust that," she says

So, is there a link? In 2003, a 15-person committee impaneled by the CDC and the National Institutes of Health analyzed the available studies on thimerosal and its possible connections to autism and concluded that there was no scientific evidence to support the link. In a further show of confidence, the committee noted that it did "not consider a significant investment in studies of the theoretical vaccine-autism connection to be useful." Instead, the panel recommended that studies focus on less explored genetic or biological explanations for the disease.

There is also little evidence to support the claim made by antivaccine activists that the battery of shots kids receive can damage the immune system rather than strengthen it. Experts stress that it's not the number of inoculations that matters but the number of immune-stimulating antigens—or proteins—in them. Thanks to a better understanding of which viral or bacterial proteins are best at activating the immune system, that number has plummeted. The original smallpox injection alone packed 200 different immune-alerting antigens in a single shot. Today there are only 150 antigens in all 15 or so shots babies get before they are 6 months old. "The notion that too many vaccines can overwhelm the immune system is just not based on good science," says Dr. Paul Offit, chief of infectious diseases at Children's Hospital in Philadelphia.

POLIO

888

Number of polio cases in Nigeria in 2006, after religious leaders convinced parents they should not allow their children to be vaccinated. The country reported fewer than 30 cases in 2000

My Child, My Choice

IF THE PUSH-BACK AGAINST VACCINES were only about the science, doctors might have an easier time making their case. But there's more going on than that. Parents object to the mandatory nature of the shots—and the fact that their child's access to education hinges on compliance with the immunization regulations. There's also the simple reality that the illnesses kids are being inoculated against are rarely seen anymore. When diseases like polio ran free in the early 1900s, the

clamor was less about why we needed vaccines than about why there weren't more of them. Once you've seen your neighbor's toddler become paralyzed, you're a lot more likely to worry that the same thing will happen to yours. "The fact is," says Offit, "young mothers today never grew up with the disease."

What worries him and others is that young mothers of tomorrow will—and that could be disastrous. CDC officials estimate that fully vaccinating all U.S. children born in a given year from birth to adolescence saves 33,000 lives, prevents 14 million infections and saves $10 billion in medical costs. Part of the reason is that the vaccinations protect not only the kids who receive the shots but also those who can't receive them—such as newborns and cancer patients with suppressed immune systems. These vulnerable folks depend on riding the so-called herd-immunity effect. The higher the immunization rate in any population, the less likely that a pathogen will penetrate the group and find a susceptible person inside. As immunization rates drop, that protection grows thinner. That's what happened in the current measles outbreaks in the western U.S., and that's what happened in Nigeria in 2001, when religious and political leaders convinced parents that polio vaccines were dangerous and their kids should not receive them. Over the next six years, not only did Nigerian infection rates increase 30-fold, but the disease also broke free and ranged out to 10 other countries, many of which had previously been polio-free.

As long ago as 1905, the U.S. Supreme Court recognized the power of the herd and ruled that states have the right to mandate immunizations, not for the individual's health but for the community's. That principle, say vaccine proponents, should still apply. "The decision to vaccinate is a decision for your child," says Dr. Jane Seward, deputy director of viral diseases at the CDC, "but also a decision for society."

Some parents have taken to cherry-picking vaccines, leaving out only the shots they believe their children don't need—such as those for chicken pox and hepatitis B—and keeping up with what they see as the life-or-death ones. But that can be a high-stakes game, as Kelly Lacek, a Pennsylvania mother of three, learned. She stopped vaccinating her 2-month-old son Matthew when her chiropractor raised questions about mercury in the shots. Three years later, she came home to find the little boy feverish and gasping for breath. Emergency-room doctors couldn't find the cause—until one experienced physician finally asked the right question. "He took one look at Matthew and asked me if he was fully vaccinated," says Lacek. "I said no." It turned out Matthew had been infected with Hib, a virus that causes meningitis, swelling of the airway and, in severe cases, swelling of the brain tissue. After relying on a breathing tube for several days, Matthew recovered without any neurological effects, and a grateful Lacek immediately got him and his siblings up to date on their immunizations. "I am angry that people are promoting not getting vaccinated and messing with people's lives like that," she now says.

Health officials are angry too. Encouraged in part by the government report that seemed to clear vaccines of the autism charges, they are beginning to take a harder line with parents who submit vaccine exemptions for nonmedical reasons. In Maryland, where unvaccinated students are not permitted in school, officials last November threatened to take parents to court for truancy violations if their kids did not get all their shots so that they could be cleared for class. On Long Island, N.Y., vaccine objectors are called in for what some parents call "sincerity" interviews with school officials and school-board attorneys to determine how genuinely the vaccines conflict with religious convictions.

Even in cities where such interviews are not required, the tensions are palpable. Says Sue Collins, a New Jersey mother who has not had either of her two sons vaccinated: "Things are getting so nasty. People are calling us bad parents, saying it's child abuse if we don't vaccinate our children." In an effort to avoid potential conflicts, some parents are bypassing the school system altogether, preferring to homeschool their kids so they won't be forced to vaccinate them.

Common Ground

THAT STILL LEAVES THE BROADER COMmunity at risk. So, is there room between public health and personal choice? Science may eventually provide a way out. Most people agree that there may be kids with genetic predispositions or other underlying conditions that make them susceptible to being harmed by vaccines. The Georgia girl in the recent vaccine case is the first such documented child, but her story suggests there could be others. Though CDC director Julie Gerberding was quick to insist that the case should not be considered an admission that vaccines can cause autism, some parents will surely take it as just that. "In rare instances, there could be some gene-vs.-exposure interaction that in theory could lead from the vaccine to autism," says Dr. Tracy Lieu, director of the center for child-health-care studies at Harvard Medical School. "The future of vaccine-safety research lies in trying to answer questions of genomic contributions to responses to vaccines." Screening for genetic profiles that are most commonly associated with immune disorders, for example, would be a good place to start.

Whether tests like these, combined with detailed family histories, will make a difference in the rates of developmental disorders like autism isn't yet clear. But such a strategy could reveal new avenues of research and lead to safer inoculations overall. Parents concerned about vaccine safety would then have stronger answers to their questions about how their child might be affected by the shots. Vaccines may be a medical marvel, but they are only one salvo in our fight against disease-causing bugs. It's worth remembering that viruses and bacteria have had millions of years to perfect their host-finding skills; our abilities to rebuff them are only two centuries old. And in that journey, both parents and public-health officials want the same thing—to protect future generations from harm. ■

5 QUESTIONS

What You Need To Know

Uncertainty over the need for and safety of vaccines is fueling fear and confusion. Here are answers.

Are vaccinations necessary?
Absolutely. Immunizing all babies born in the U.S. in a given year prevents 14 million infections and saves 33,000 lives and $10 billion in medical costs by the time the children reach adolescence.

Do vaccines cause autism?
The best scientific evidence says no. Experts are instead focusing on genetic and environmental factors.

Will my child react badly to immunization?
The vast majority will not. Genetic-screening advances may help doctors identify the few who might.

Is mercury still used in vaccines?
Only in the flu vaccine. By 2001 thimerosal-free formulations of vaccines were introduced, which dramatically cut mercury exposure for 6-month-olds but had no discernible effect on autism rates.

Must I vaccinate my children?
Yes. All but two states allow exemptions if families object to vaccines on religious grounds; 20 allow them for philosophical grounds.

PROFILE

The Wizard of Wii

The mind behind Mario and other Nintendo characters, Shigeru Miyamoto turned the Wii into a world beater. His next trick: making weight-watching fun

BY ANITA HAMILTON

SHIGERU MIYAMOTO IS REVERED AMONG video gamers for creating a legion of adventures filled with goofy heroes like Mario and Luigi. Among co-workers, though, Miyamoto is equally well known for his cartoonishly hot temper. Early last year, when Nintendo engineers had trouble executing his vision for a new kind of game that involved stepping on a scale and weighing yourself, they learned firsthand just how much like Bowser—Mario's fire-breathing archnemesis—Miyamoto could be. "I suffered the wrath of Miyamoto-san because we weren't coming up with enough ideas," developer Arisa Hosaka said in an online interview posted by Nintendo. "We all started panicking and just throwing ideas around, hoping that something would stick."

'I see the experience of interacting with your reality in a way that you normally can't as a great source of entertainment.'
—SHIGERU MIYAMOTO, SENIOR MANAGING DIRECTOR, NINTENDO

The Miyamoto I meet in a New York City hotel suite in April is disarmingly polite. Casually dressed in black jeans and a T shirt, he's happy and relaxed as he shows off the game that nearly led his 15-person development team to quit in frustration. Despite his outbursts, Miyamoto held them together. "It helps for me to work with some of those younger developers," he says, "so they understand that it's O.K. to take your time and flesh out ideas and really turn it into something special."

That turned out to be *Wii Fit*—a $90 game released in the U.S. in May for the Wii game console—which comes with a "balance board" on which you stand and do exercises ranging from aerobics to hula hoop to yoga. It's a clever attempt to mask exercise as play—but it works. (For a review, go to *time.com/wii*.) That's due in large part to *Wii Fit's* ability to adjust the action for your weight and equilibrium—something no other game does.

It's the latest in a series of innovations that have made the Wii the jewel of the gaming world. Nintendo has sold more than 24 million units of the $250 console, widely expected to be an also-ran to Microsoft's Xbox and Sony's PlayStation when the three machines were introduced a few years ago. The magic is in its handheld motion sensors, which let players duplicate the action of throwing a ball or swinging a club or racquet. Wii bumped up Nintendo's sales 73%, to $16 billion, last year. It is outselling rivals 3 to 1, and *Fit* is driving Wii: more than 2 million *Fit* units have been sold since the game's December launch in Japan, and its U.S. debut is expected to drive Nintendo to another bust-out year.

Nearly as unlikely as the Wii's world-beating success is that of the man behind it. A self-professed doodler from a rural town outside Kyoto, Miyamoto once dreamed of becoming a puppeteer, which may help explain the leisurely five years he spent earning his degree in industrial design. His dad got him in touch with reality in 1977 by calling a friend—who happened to head Nintendo—and landed Miyamoto his first job, as a staff artist for what was then a toymaker. In 1981, Miyamoto created an arcade game inspired by pairing the fictional ape King Kong with the muscular, muttering Popeye cartoon character. Expectations were so low for *Donkey Kong* (and by extension Miyamoto) that it was initially tested in just two bars in Seattle. *Donkey Kong's* surprise success turned the doodler into a dynamo as he spooled off characters such as Super Mario and Luigi to play on Nintendo's series of game consoles, including the GameCube and handheld Nintendo DS.

With *Fit*, Miyamoto is abandoning those familiar faces—it's about time, say his critics—and taking gamers in a new direction. Although many people dread weighing themselves, the slight, 137-lb. (62 kg) designer hatched the idea for *Wii Fit* when he realized he got a kick out of charting his own weight on a piece of paper taped to the wall: "My whole family took an interest. Seeing how that was able to excite the people in my family, I thought, Oh, this is a really neat experience that I'd like to bring to other people."

A breakthrough with *Fit* came when the developers decided to add motion sensors to each corner of the balance board and change its original square shape to a rectangle. This allowed them to add balance tests inspired by Seitai—a Japanese healing therapy that focuses on posture—and let the board double as a snowboard for use in the slalom, one of *Wii Fit's* coolest minigames.

Now 55 and a veritable Walt Disney of video games, Miyamoto can afford to upset the creative balance. He admits that devising *Fit* was a lot less fun than playing it. "There tends to be a lot of nervousness about working on a product like this. Video games have a lot of expectations, and developers tend to have stress to meet those," he told me. Miyamoto draws from his personal life to create new games. His love of dogs led to the virtual-pet title *Nintendogs*, and his gardening hobby grew into the carrot-shaped Pikmin in the eponymous GameCube hit.

With *Fit*, though, Miyamoto is showing that even the mundane can be a source of entertainment: "When people look back at *Wii Fit*, they won't look at it in comparison to *Mario* but as unique interactive entertainment that really introduced the masses to what that can be. While there is appeal in creating living, breathing fantasy worlds, I also see the experience of interacting with your reality in a way that you normally can't as a great source of entertainment." He is now working on a music game. It's due later this year, even if it takes a few Bowser-like outbursts to pull off.

—WITH REPORTING BY YUKI ODA/TOKYO ■

PHILLIP ENGELHORN—LAIF/REDUX

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Bay beauty *Big Brown could join Seattle Slew as the only undefeated Triple Crown winners*

Triple Brown

Big Brown is in the homestretch of a bid for the Triple Crown. The horse has been faultless, which can't be said for all the humans surrounding him

BY SEAN GREGORY/BELMONT PARK

WHILE BIG BROWN, THE BAY COLT who took the first two legs of this year's Triple Crown, grazes, Rick Dutrow, his trainer, gazes. The horse is relaxing in a stall at Belmont Park, gnawing some hay. "When I look at him, I see a horse that's as cool and as calm as can be," says Dutrow, who has escaped the depths of addiction and gone on to train a Thoroughbred who might be the best in a generation. "He moves me." Dutrow points out Big Brown's birthmark, a rare speck of white fuzz above his front left leg, and lovingly strokes his right ear. "He acts

Photographs for TIME by Marc Asnin—Redux

like he's one of us," Dutrow says. "Like he wants to be one of us."

Horsemen love hyperbole and ascribing human traits to their beloved breed. But Dutrow's not the only one falling for Big Brown. The colt cruised to a 4¾-length win in the Kentucky Derby and so overpowered the Preakness field that jockey Kent Desormeaux eased him across the finish. Big Brown will be the heavy favorite to win the Belmont Stakes on June 7 in Elmont, N.Y., a Long Island town that borders New York City. If he does, Big Brown would become the first Triple Crown winner since Affirmed took that title 30 years ago.

After Eight Belles, a filly, was injured in the Derby and euthanized on the track, racing needs a feel-good equine story in the worst way. "He's got the size, the mentality, the stride and acceleration," says Angel Cordero, one of the best jocks of all time. "He's like a car—he comes with everything. Just step on it, and you're there."

The most impressive part of his engine is an unmatched second gear. In the Preakness, he hung with leaders until the far turn. Then, with little prodding from Desormeaux, he glided past everyone down the stretch. "It's very unusual to have a horse who can do that," says Hall of Fame trainer Carl Nafzger. "He doesn't really hit overdrive; he just moves away." Big Brown's knack for controlling a race has Nafzger comparing the laid-back colt to Seattle Slew, the legendary horse who won the Triple Crown in 1977. No one saw this coming; Big Brown sold for just $190,000 as a 2-year-old, and before the Derby, he had run only three races in his career. (He won them all, of course.)

The oddball cast of humans supporting Big Brown makes the horse's rise more *Guys and Dolls* than Kentucky blue blood. They're fast-talking New Yorkers. Besides Dutrow, an ex-addict who was once so down and out that he lived in a racetrack barn, take Michael Iavarone, 37, Big Brown's majority owner. An ex–Wall Street banker and Long Island native who left the rat race for horse-racing, Iavarone and his partners arranged to buy control of Big Brown for $2.5 million in September, after watching him race once—once—on TV. "We put our balls on the line," he says proudly. The brash owner is even starting a horse hedge fund, allowing private investors to buy into his portfolio of Thoroughbreds and sell out at a handsome profit if they succeed. Or lose it all. "My confidence is sky-high right now," he says.

Iavarone bought his piece of the horse from Paul Pompa, a New Jersey guy who runs a Brooklyn trucking company. Pompa was offered some $1.5 million extra for Big Brown from the stable run by Sheik Mohammed bin Rashid al-Maktoum, the ruler of Dubai, who doubles as the most powerful man in horse-racing. No one says no to the Sheik. But Pompa did, because he wanted to keep a 25% share in Big Brown. Before the Preakness, venerable Kentucky stud farm Three Chimneys bought Big Brown's breeding rights for upwards of $50 million, putting at least $12.5 million in Pompa's pocket. "That was a good move by me, eh?" he says. Pompa, 49, also gave the horse his name—Big Brown is a salute to UPS, the package-delivery outfit—after the company renewed a contract with Pompa's trucking business.

The team entrusted Big Brown to jockey Desormeaux, a Hall of Famer who moved his family from California to New York a couple of years ago because he got fed up with losing out West. Though he had already won two Derbys, the last in 2000, Desormeaux was supposed to be history. Now he's primed for the Triple Crown and

Chasing History

How would Big Brown run against the Triple Crown champs? If you added up each winner's times in the three big races and projected Big Brown's Belmont time, on

6 War Admiral *12.4 sec. back*

Derby	2:03.2
Preakness	1:58.4
Belmont	2:28.6
Total	**6:30.2**

1937 The prickly son of Man o' War rarely saw a starting gate he liked to enter, but once he exited, he usually won. A year after the Triple Crown, he lost a head-to-head race with rival Seabiscuit.

5 Count Fleet *11.8 sec. back*

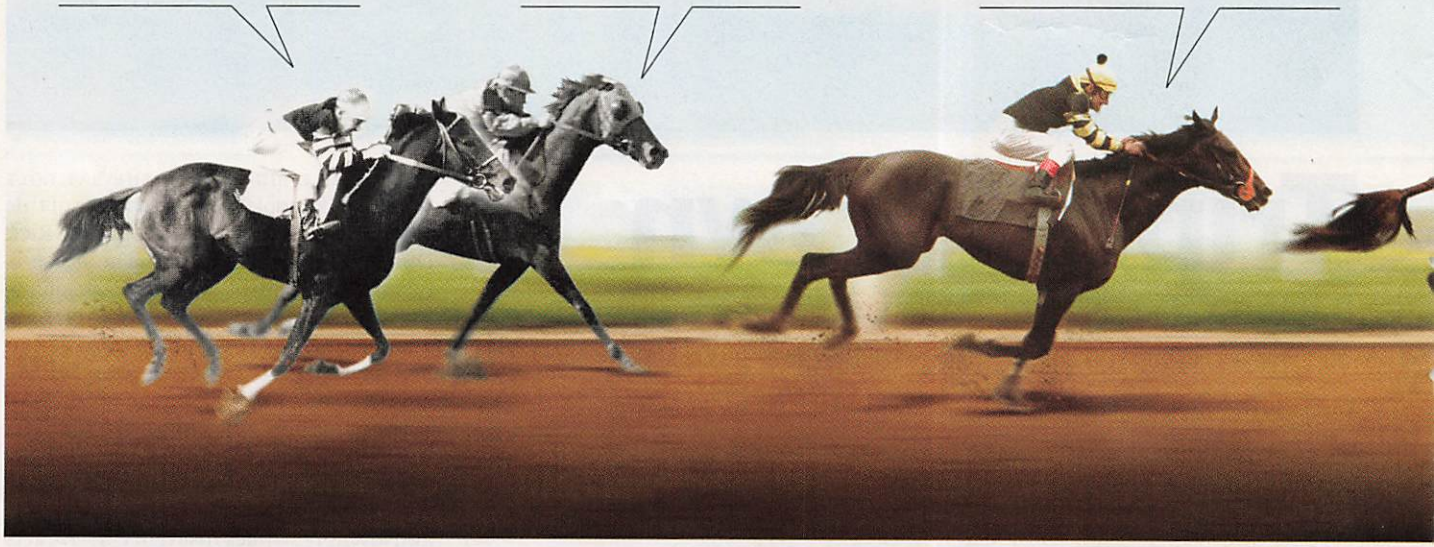
Derby	2:04.0
Preakness	1:57.4
Belmont	2:28.2
Total	**6:29.6**

1943 Owned by car-rental baron John D. Hertz, the feisty brown speedster crushed two rivals to win the Belmont by 25 lengths. But a minor ankle injury didn't heal, and he never raced again.

4 Seattle Slew *8.4 sec. back*

Derby	2:02.2
Preakness	1:54.4
Belmont	2:29.6
Total	**6:26.2**

1977 A string of prerace mishaps—including being badly spooked by a band playing the national anthem—didn't stop Seattle Slew from taking the Derby. He became the first undefeated Triple Crown winner.



inspiring fans in the process. Desormeaux, 38, balances racing with raising son Jacob, 9, who suffers from Usher syndrome, a disease that causes deafness and a gradual loss of vision. Jacob has lived through 11 surgeries. "He's the happiest boy on earth," says Desormeaux. "The only people who are sad right now are his parents and the people who love him."

You can call Desormeaux a role model. That term would not apply to Dutrow. He remembers mixing cocaine and quaaludes one night in the 1980s and getting into his car. Luckily, he woke up on the side of the road, unharmed. "A miracle," he says. He was a reckless gambler, once betting $160,000 on a horse. He won that one, but he remembers losing a few $50,000 bets. Why risk so much? "'Cause I'm an idiot," he says. "Come on, man."

He was suspended from New York tracks for five years because he tested positive for marijuana. A decade ago, Dutrow, now 48, was flat broke and living in a barn at a Queens racetrack. He had the essentials—a fridge, a telephone, a television—but he had to shower in another barn. ("Dirty floors, no water pressure, but it cleaned you up.")

Dutrow, whose father was a respected trainer, cleaned up his life to get back in the races. He's handled Big Brown with care and become a doting father to his 13-year-old daughter. But his detox has still left him a few furlongs short of redemption. His racing rap sheet is as long as Big Brown's stride. He's been suspended several times over the past few years for everything from overmedicating his horses to giving them banned substances and even for falsifying a workout report. Hey, nobody's perfect.

Of horse and humans *Iavarone, left, and Dutrow*

Plus, political correctness isn't his forte. Dutrow, who calls everyone he meets "babe," insisted that his time spent as barn owl wasn't lonely. "Pretty soon I had broads running in and out of the place," he says. When asked about Casino Drive, a horse from Japan who has emerged as a possible threat to Big Brown's Crown bid, Dutrow says he would tell his jockey "to find Yamamoto," referring to the Japanese admiral who conceived the Pearl Harbor attack, "and chew his ass."

At least his horse has style, although the sport's chattering class is starting to wonder if Big Brown has trampled weak competition. Even Dutrow admits that other horses "aren't showing up." It's a legitimate argument, but "when a horse does it, don't knock him," says Nafzger. "Enjoy him. He's a beautiful animal."

At a mile and a half, the Belmont is the Triple Crown's most grueling test; 10 bids have failed there over the past 30 years. Most recently, Smarty Jones lost a heartbreaker in 2004. At Big Brown's Belmont stall, his big brown (naturally) eyes glow with confidence. His coat shines; he flirts with a filly in the next stall. Aw, heck, how are we supposed to know what the horse is feeling? Best we can do is ask the trainer. "We're going to win the race," Dutrow says. —WITH REPORTING BY AMY LENNARD GOEHNER/NEW YORK ■

the basis of his results in the first two races, he would finish second to Secretariat. You can't bet on that—track conditions vary, for one—but here are the five fastest Triple Crown times and where Big Brown could stack up

3 Affirmed *4.6 sec. back*

Derby	2:01.2
Preakness	1:54.4
Belmont	2:26.8
Total	6:22.4

1978 The greatest rivalry in horse-racing reached a climax at the Belmont, when Affirmed nosed out Alydar at the finish. Affirmed won the crown, and Alydar was the bridesmaid all three times.

2 Big Brown *4.4 sec. back**

Derby	2:01.8
Preakness	1:54.8
Belmont	2:25.6*
Total	6:22.2*

2008 Named for the trucking company UPS, Big Brown won the Derby and Preakness by an average of 5 lengths to remain undefeated. He is a heavy favorite to capture the first Triple Crown in 30 years.

*Estimates

1 Secretariat

Derby	1:59.4
Preakness	1:54.4
Belmont	2:24.0
Total	6:17.8

1973 The chestnut superhorse remains the yardstick by which all others are measured. He still holds the records for the Derby and the Belmont, and a clock controversy may have robbed him of a Preakness record.

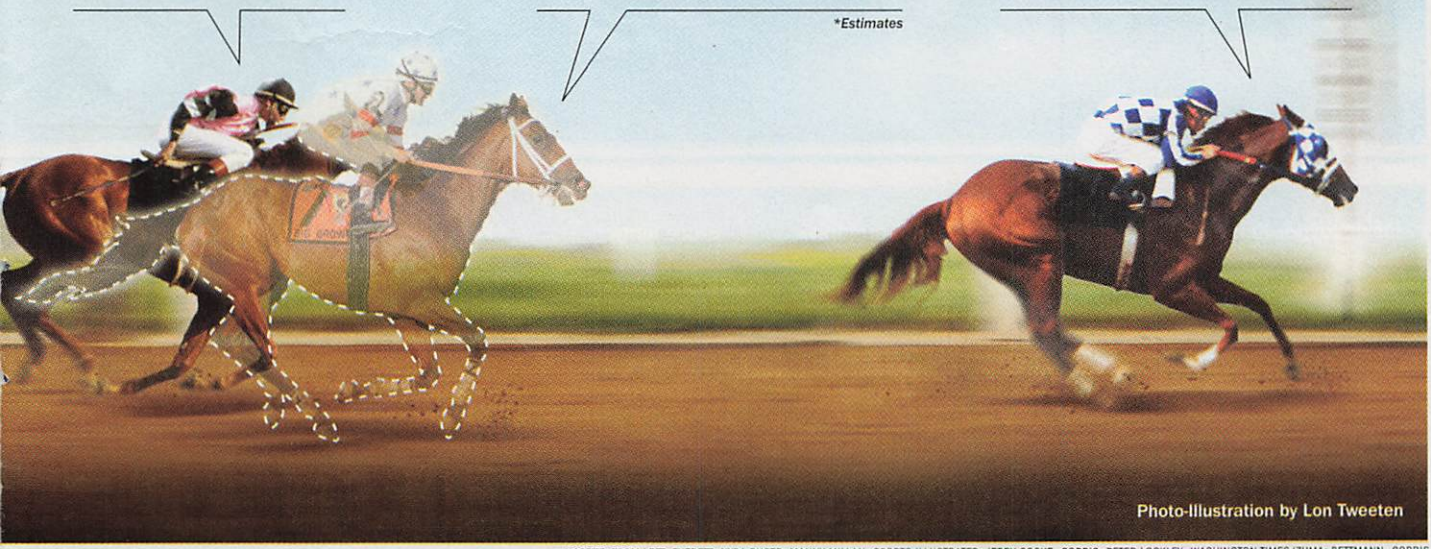


Photo-Illustration by Lon Tweeten

HORSES, FROM LEFT: EVERETT; NYRA PHOTO; MANNY MILLAN—SPORTS ILLUSTRATED; JERRY COOKE—CORBIS; PETER LOCKLEY—WASHINGTON TIMES/ZUMA; BETTMANN—CORBIS

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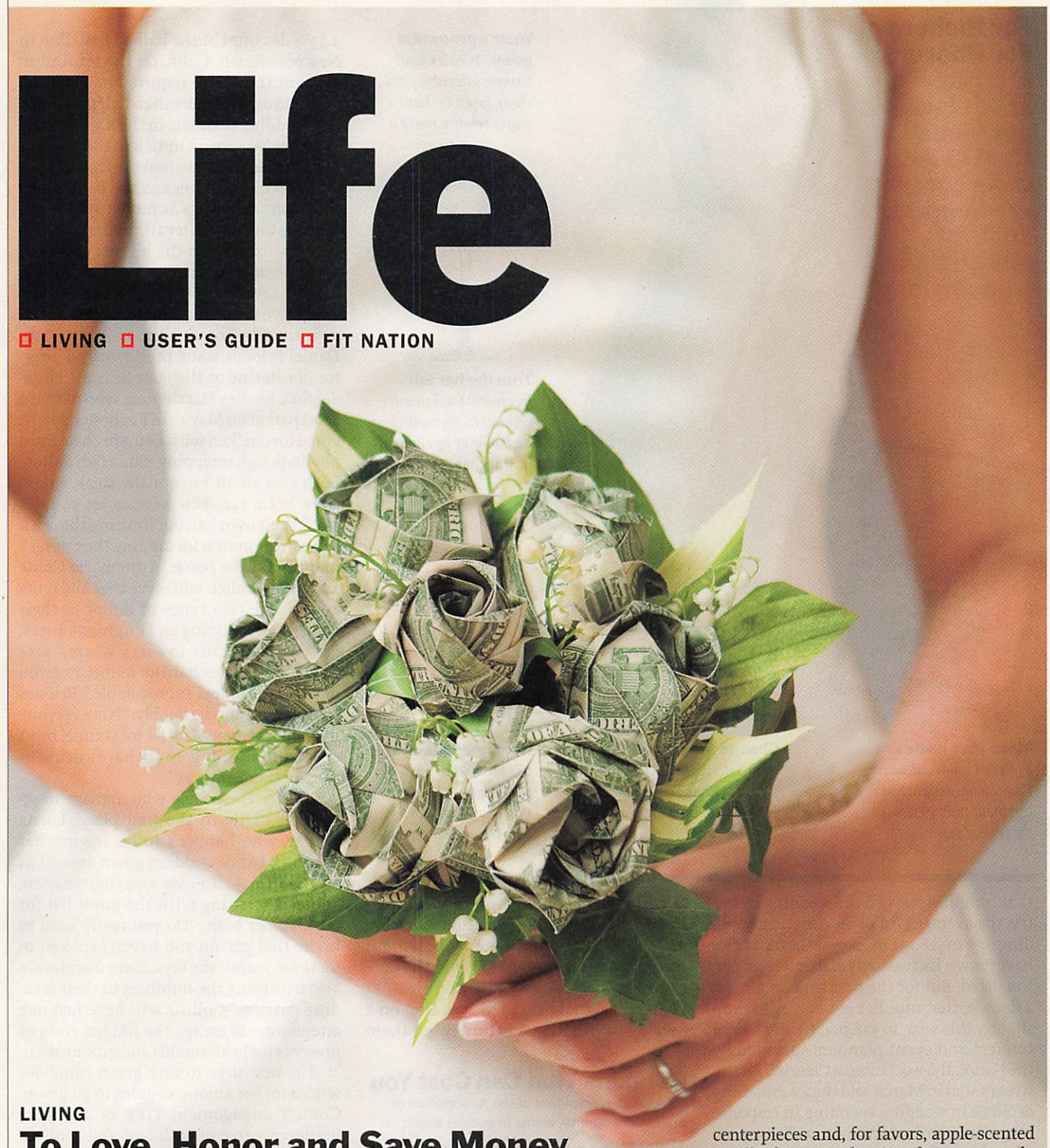
Life



ORIGAMI ROSES BY TONY CHENG—ORIGAMIUSA

LIVING

To Love, Honor and Save Money.

A tighter economy has couples creatively downsizing their big day

BY JENINNE LEE-ST. JOHN

ON THE FINAL FRIDAY OF JUNE, KELLY Collins will marry Paul Hilcoff at the Nashoba Valley Winery in Bolton, Mass. After the ceremony in an orchard, the 60 guests will retire to the vineyard's restaurant, where they'll have a full sit-down meal complemented by wine and beer made on-site. All this will cost $4,500, or $1,500 less than it would on a Saturday. Rather than a wedding gown, Collins will wear a $200 ivory bridesmaid dress. She has ordered wholesale flowers online for $300 to make her centerpieces and, for favors, apple-scented candles from a teachers' catalog at $1.50 each. The couple made their own invitations with $75 worth of materials. "We thought about what was most important," says Collins. "What wasn't, we did for cheaper—or we didn't do it." The final bill: $9,000.

As economic indicators go, the cost of nuptials isn't a bad one to check—particularly in our party-obsessed culture—because it shows what people are willing to spend on nonessentials. According to the Wedding Report, a research firm

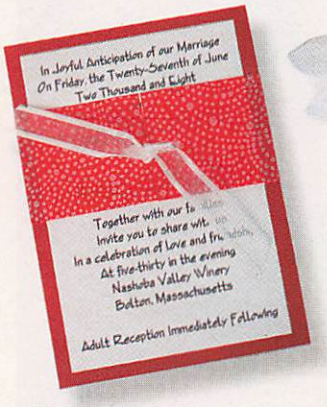
Photograph for TIME by Erin Patrice O'Brien

For Richer or For Poorer.

Marriage is about love, not money, right? Five ways couples are keeping costs at bay on their wedding day

Wear a preowned gown. *Who'll know? Sample sales also yield cheap finds. Or have a crafty relative make it*

Trim the bar tab *by creating a signature cocktail to offer with beer and wine or by eliminating the champagne toast*


In Joyful Anticipation of our Marriage
On Friday, the Twenty-Seventh of June
Two Thousand and Eight
Together with our fa
Invite you to share wit
In a celebration of love and fri
At five-thirty in the evening
Nashoba Valley Winery
Bolton, Massachusetts
Adult Reception Immediately Following

Make your invites, *as Kelly Collins did, above. Professional designs can cost thousands; DIY, just the price of paper*

Change the date *from Saturday night to daytime or to Friday or Sunday; Danny Craig and Heather Pfisterer saved 33%*

Homemade favors *like the biscotti and embossed gift boxes Pfisterer made can be both classy and personal*

that compiles stats on the wedding industry, the average cost of an American wedding rose to $28,732 in 2007, as the festivities have grown increasingly elaborate and personalized. But for the first time in almost a decade, that number is forecast to drop slightly this year, to $28,704. Nearly half of caterers and event planners surveyed by the National Association of Catering Executives (NACE) in March said they were seeing declines in wedding spending in response to the economic slowdown; 12% even reported wedding cancellations because of financial concerns.

Because planning for many of this year's weddings started long before gas and milk hit $4 a gallon, some couples have had to scale back. "Every dollar counts," says Tammy Li, whose parents are helping fund her Aug. 30 wedding at the Madison Hotel in Morristown, N.J., as they struggle to sell their house. Li and fiancé Bernie Tang are tamping down costs simply by being flexible with the time. "I had really wanted a night wedding," says Li, but it was hard to argue with the $15,000 savings they'll get by holding it on Saturday afternoon. Moving the date can help too. Danny Craig and Heather Pfisterer say holding their wedding on a Sunday rather than a Saturday got them a 33% discount at the Balboa Bay Club in Newport Beach, Calif., on the minimum amount they were required to spend on food and drinks. More than half of caterers and wedding planners in the NACE survey said they've seen an uptick in the number of Friday and Sunday marriages.

Expect creative menus and bar options at coming weddings as more couples aim to shave their bill; after all, food and drinks usually account for the biggest chunk of costs. More than 6 in 10 wedding professionals say their clients are buying less expensive meals than in the past. "As silly as it sounds, go with the chicken," says Daniel Briones, NACE president and director of catering at the Four Seasons Philadelphia. Shelley Harrington, who married Scott Barber on May 10 in Rochester, Mich., opted for chicken with Boursin cheese in a phyllo-dough wrapping plus a fish option. Both cost about $20 a plate; steak would have been $40. Few venues let couples stock their own bar, but limiting the open bar is a fine option for capping the caterer's markup on the booze. Annemarie Conte and Andy Kielich will serve beer and wine and maybe two types of liquor at their September wedding in Dingmans Ferry, Pa. "We can't cater to every whim," says Conte, "which was hard for me because you never want to feel inhospitable." Briones suggests nixing the bubbly: "Not everyone likes champagne. And [at toast time] most people are already going to have a drink in front of them anyway."

That is, the people who manage to secure an invite in the first place. Lorna Engler, who happens to be sewing her daughter Lara's wedding gown as well as six bridesmaid dresses, says they've been, ahem, discerning with the guest list for the October bash. "Do you really need to invite that person you haven't spoken to for three years?" she says. Some couples are also trimming the numbers in their wedding parties—Collins will have just one attendant—to escape the hidden costs of presents for bridesmaids and groomsmen.

The new urge to save green coincides with a fervor among couples to go green. Conte's engagement ring is a family heirloom—free of both cost and conflict. Conte and Kielich's caterer is a local farmer, so all the meat and seasonal produce will come straight from the source, without a middleman fee. They're decorating with trees rented from a nursery and wildflowers in lieu of cut blooms. Conte got her dress via eBay for $250, saving $750 off the original price. She did lots of research and was selective about each vendor they hired: "I don't want to work with people who will rip me off because I say the word *wedding*." That's a lovely vow in any economic climate. ■

Bargains That Can Cost You

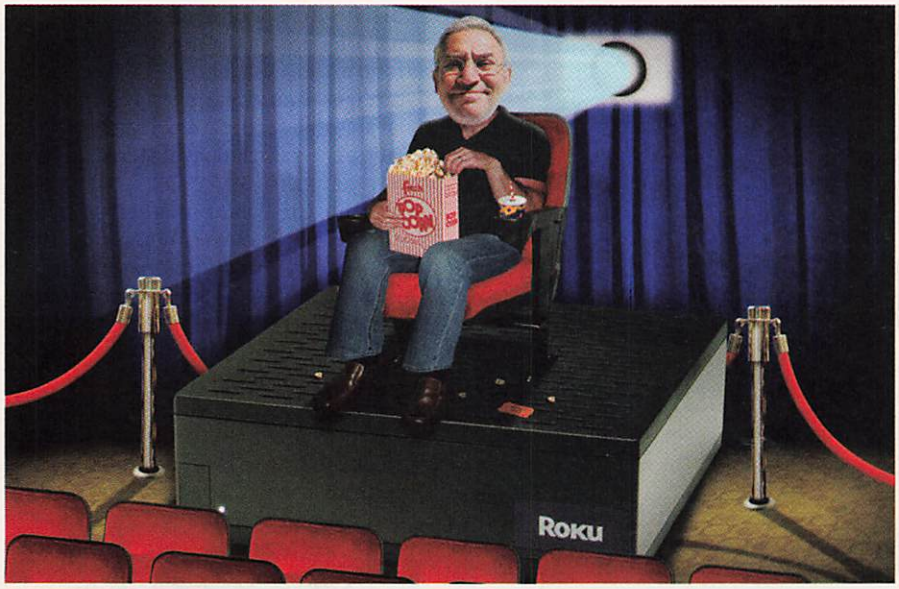
David Wood, president of the Association of Bridal Consultants, warns of budget traps:

1. **Not hiring a wedding planner.** *Having a pro at your side, whom you can hire just to negotiate contracts, can actually save money in the long run*
2. **Hiring your mom.** *Don't make her bake the cake to save a few bucks—and risk not having one*
3. **Using unvetted vendors.** *Stories abound of drunk or no-show DJs and photographers*
4. **Picking remote locations.** *They're cheaper for a reason. One couple stranded 110 guests on a mountain road their buses couldn't navigate*

BRIDE: AGE FOTOSTOCK

The Idiot Box Gets Smart

Unlimited downloading is the final TV frontier. A new gadget, teamed with Netflix, tries to realize the dream



ONE THING I HATE: BUYING MUSIC. I haven't bought a CD or MP3 in years. Instead, I subscribe to music. I pay a small monthly fee to Rhapsody, an online digital-music service, and can access most of the world's music—more than 5 million songs—by streaming it via the Net to my home audio system. I can listen to just about any song I want, anytime, anywhere. That's known in the geekosphere as "music dial tone."

So where's video dial tone? I'd love to subscribe to a service that gives me any TV show or movie I want for a flat fee. But most of the services that tackle this problem want us to either "rent" downloadable video—typically for a day or two—or buy the bits outright. Products range from the nifty Apple TV set-top box—which has the added virtue of connecting to YouTube—to Vudu, whose sleek device links your TV to a library of 6,000 films and TV shows. Both products are promising and let you rent or buy. But I want video dial tone.

A consumer-electronics company called Roku, in partnership with Netflix, has just launched a set-top box that brings us tantalizingly close to my dream. The Netflix player by Roku ($99 at *netflix.com*) is a black, palm-size device that connects your broadband network to your TV (wired or wirelessly). For as little as $8.99 a month, you can have unlimited access to Netflix's library of more than 10,000 movies and TV shows on demand. Watch what you want, instantly, for as long as you want. You can even start a movie on your home TV and finish watching it days later on your PC laptop at Starbucks. (Netflix's on-demand service isn't supported by Mac OS X.)

Setting up the Roku was about as painless an experience as I've had and took less than five minutes. I cabled it to my TV, powered up both, then followed the onscreen prompts. I watched video by logging into my Netflix account (you'll need one) and adding movies and TV seasons to my "instant" queue. The queue shows up on the Roku box in mere seconds. To test the gadget, I moldered on the couch in my office for a few days, watching *The Office* reruns, some old Kubrick and Peckinpah movies and a Jimi Hendrix documentary. It was great.

I have a few quibbles. On two occasions, movies paused for a few seconds to buffer. That's a buzz kill. The Roku folks say that can happen when your broadband speed drops below 1 megabit per second. (My standard Comcast connection is usually above 2 megabits per second, but congestion happens.) On the Netflix front, it suffers from two limitations. Netflix doesn't yet offer high-definition movies on demand, while its competitors (Apple, Vudu) do. And 10,000 titles is still a relatively modest selection. Indeed, a head-to-head comparison with, say, Apple's online store shows iTunes has far more new releases. A Netflix spokesman said it was adding titles at light speed while negotiating daily with studios, which have their own strategy for dealing with online distribution. So now I know: we can blame Hollywood for delaying video dial tone. Surprise, surprise. ■

On Demand. What you can and can't stream

Netflix boasts that its library of 10,000-plus titles trumps rivals'. *But that may still leave out some favorite movies and TV series*

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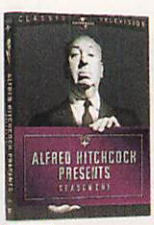

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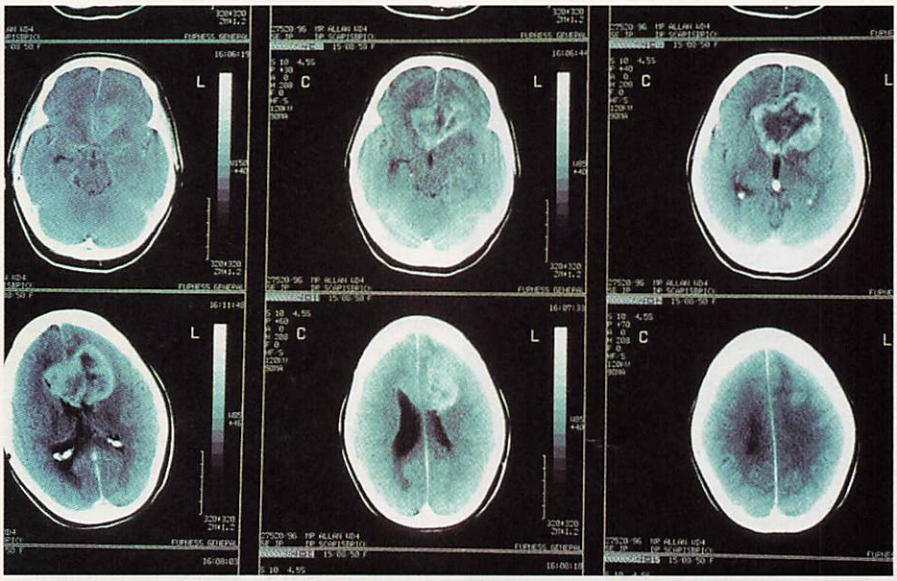
TOP: ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY JOHN UELAND; BOTTOM, FROM LEFT: NICOLE RIVELLI—NBC/EVERETT; MARIO PEREZ—ABC; RICHARD FOREMAN—MIRAMAX; NO CREDIT; EVERETT

Battling Brain Cancer

A neurosurgeon explains why Senator Kennedy's tumor is so hard to treat and how new therapies may help



Glioma *A series of brain scans helps reveal how close a tumor is to areas crucial to speech and movement*

SOMEWHERE DEEP INSIDE THE BRAIN OF Senator Edward Kennedy, the neurons in his left parietal lobe were becoming angry. Something had invaded their territory in this part of the brain—located at about eye level, just behind the ear—and they were about to react in a way that would frighten the Senator and those around him. The neurons sparked a burst of electrical activity, causing a seizure that made parts of his body become rigid and start to shake. As with most patients, there was really no way for the Senator to pick up on any warning signs prior to that first seizure. A vague headache at some point in the past, possibly some numbness in his right arm, maybe even the inability to think of a certain word when he was speaking. Any of these things may have easily been forgotten or dismissed. A seizure, on the other hand, is the medical equivalent of a flashing neon sign. For doctors, it is a call to action, spurring those in my field of neurosurgery into medical mystery-solving mode. What, exactly, caused the seizure? In Kennedy's case, an MRI scan revealed the source of the neural storm: a big clump of cells that probably looked like an octopus with tentacles reaching into other areas of the brain. It was a tumor, and doctors had to figure out just how bad it was.

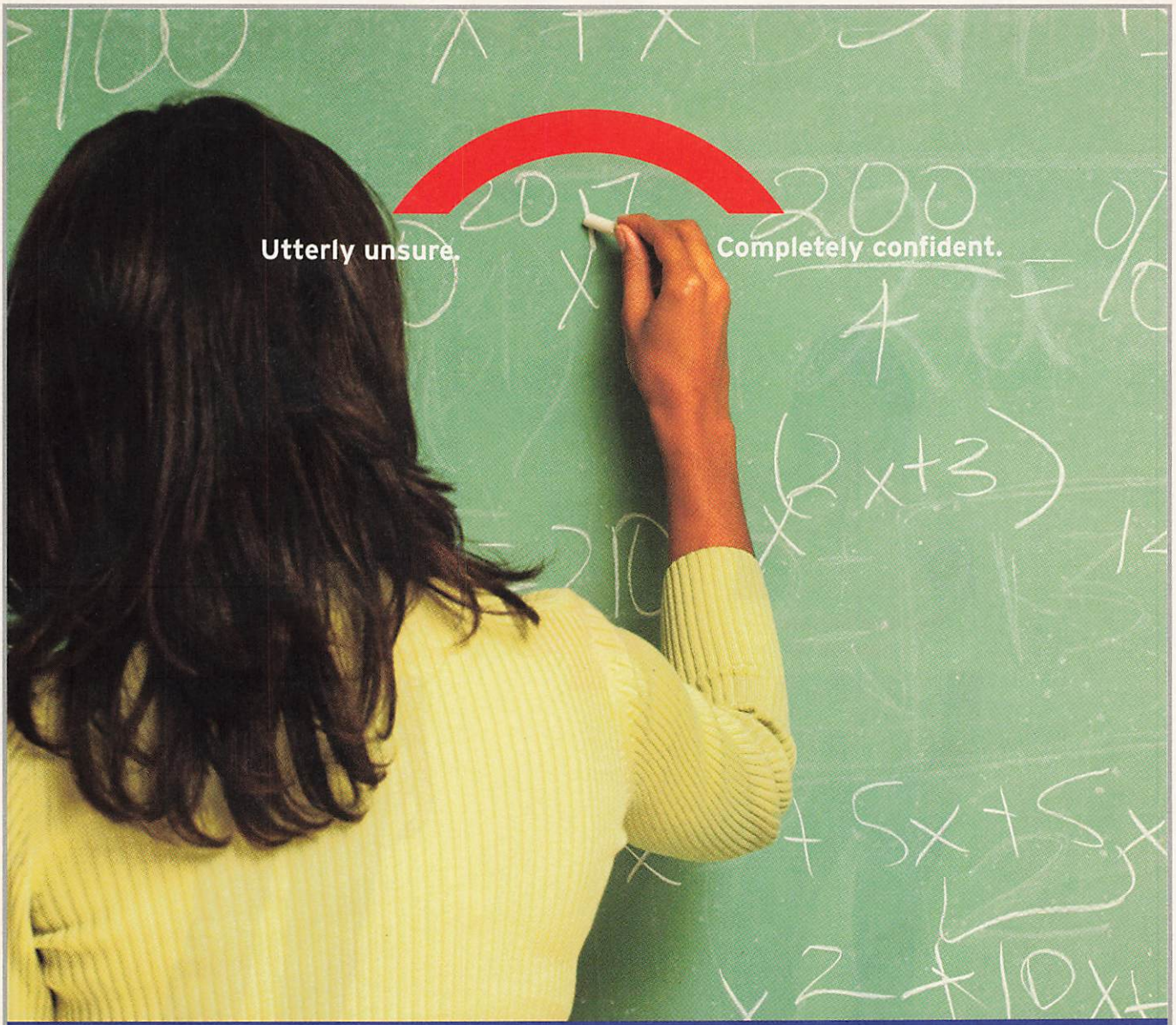
The only way to know for sure was to drill a hole into the skull—using something akin to your basic Black & Decker—and insert a probe to remove small pieces from the middle of the tough, fibrous mass. A pathologist would see under a microscope the telltale cells that are consistent with a malignant glioma, a brain tumor of the very worst kind. Each year in the U.S., some 9,000 people receive a diagnosis of this fast-growing cancer—which in its most malicious form, known as a glioblastoma, often forces the neurosurgeon to tell the patient that chances are he won't live longer than a year, even with the most aggressive therapies. In the past two decades, the grim survival statistics have barely budged.

Kennedy is one of some 9,000 people in the U.S. who will find out this year they have this fast-growing brain cancer and few treatment options

Recent years have brought new treatment options. Doctors can now perform what is known as a functional MRI scan. If the Senator hasn't had one already, he will probably get one soon. During the scan, he'll likely be asked to speak or raise his right arm—or to simply think about doing either of these things—and the resulting images will show if the tumor is located in the parts of the brain responsible for speech or movement. Depending on how close the malignancy is to these critical areas, doctors might decide against surgery or they might forge ahead, making Kennedy stay awake during the operation so they can ask him to talk and move his arm. Any abnormalities in these activities, and the surgeon would stop cutting.

Unfortunately, more times than not, surgery isn't that effective in treating gliomas. Cut out this type of tumor, and it just grows back. Chemo and radiation generally aren't much help either. Patients and their doctors may have the option of turning to some promising new therapies like the so-called brain-tumor vaccine that combines a patient's tumor cells with his own white blood cells. According to Dr. Michael Gruber, a neuro-oncologist at the New York University Langone Medical Center, this concoction triggers the immune system to attack the tumor; in a small study, it raised the two-year survival rate to 50%, nearly double that of non–vaccine recipients. There is also a type of gene therapy that involves injecting custom-made viruses into tumor cells, causing them to die or at least become more susceptible to radiation. These aren't great choices, which means the Senator may have to rely as much on his own strength and optimism as on modern medicine. ■

CT SCAN: SHOUT PICTURES—CUSTOM MEDICAL STOCK; KENNEDY: JAY WESTCOTT—POLARIS



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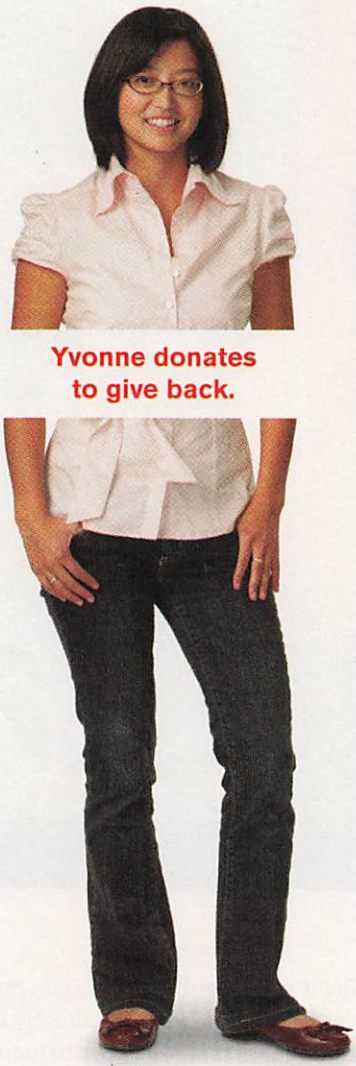

Yvonne donates
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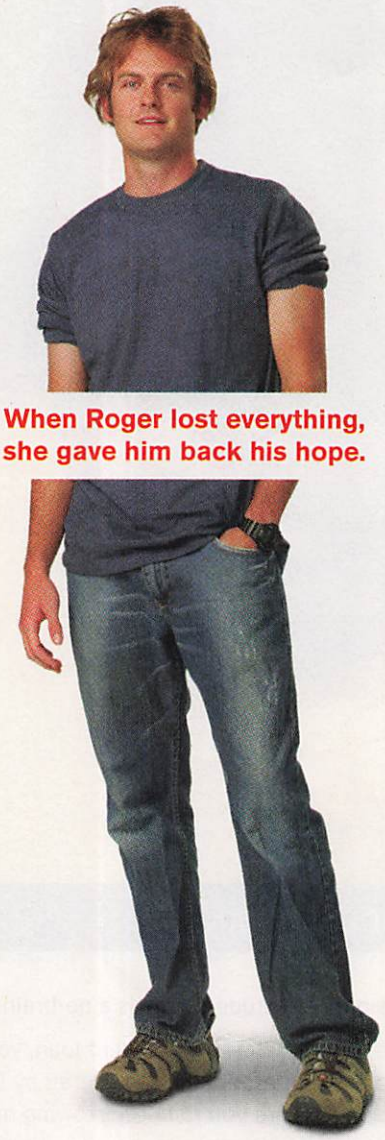

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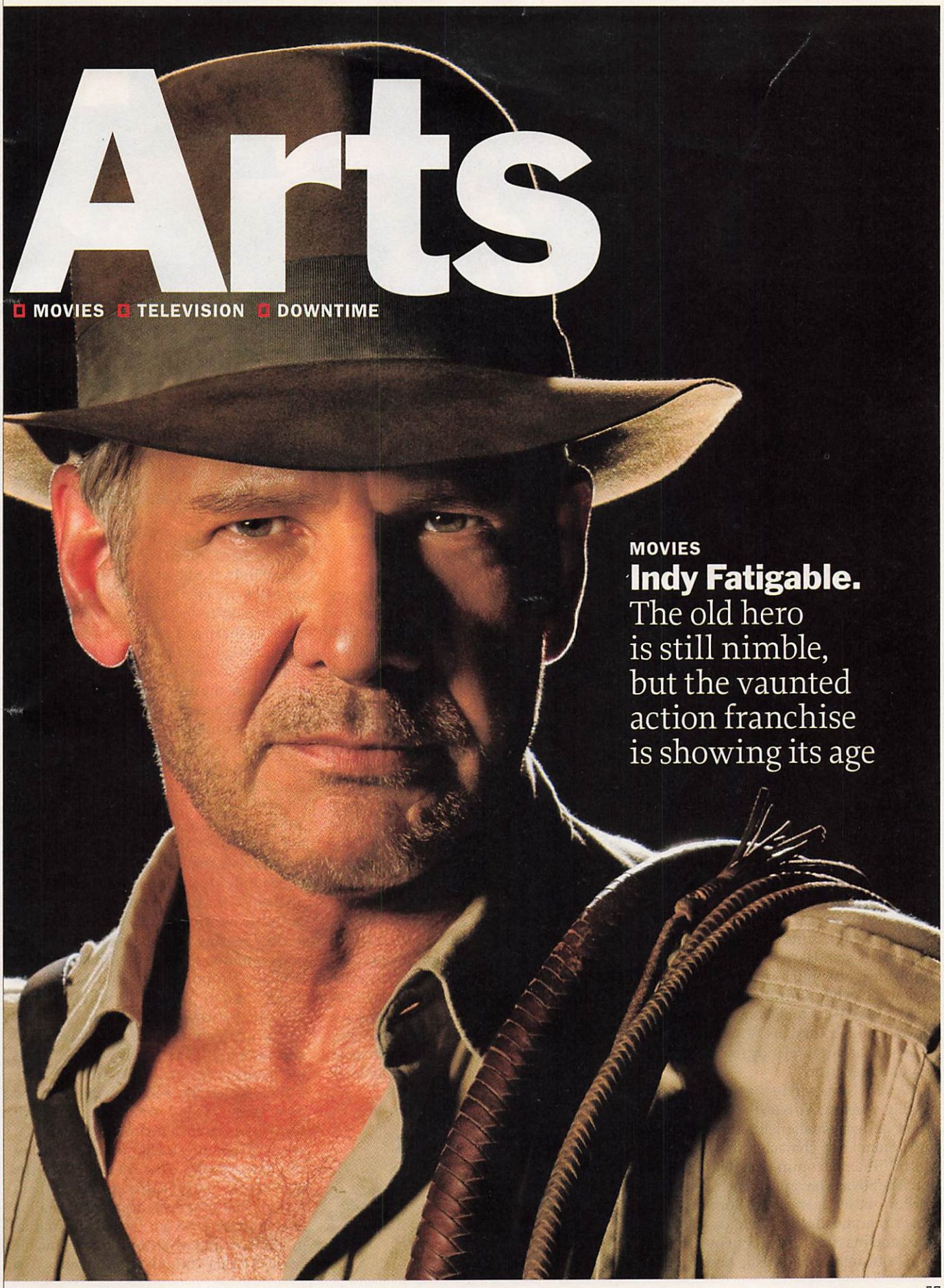


MOVIES

Indy Fatigable.

The old hero is still nimble, but the vaunted action franchise is showing its age

DAVID JAMES—PARAMOUNT (2)

BY RICHARD CORLISS/CANNES

BY THE THOUSANDS, JOURNALISTS at the Cannes Film Festival lined up two hours in advance in eager expectation of that special moment: when they would be the first people in the world to see *Indiana Jones and the Kingdom of the Crystal Skull*, fourth in the adventure series that began with *Raiders of the Lost Ark* in 1981 and the first since *The Last Crusade* 19 years ago. Inside the Grand Palais, the crowd's mood was more World Cup Final than movie premiere. Some revelers trumpeted the first four notes of John Williams' signature theme, and others responded with the next three. The lights dimmed, the Lucasfilm Ltd. logo materialized, and the audience erupted in cheers.

Two hours later, it was a lot quieter.

Anticipation is often the best part of romance, including the form of ardor known as movie love. The dictum applies with its greatest, most poignant force when a sequel to a beloved series is finally unveiled; recall the shrugs and recriminations at the arrival of *The Phantom Menace*. The *Indy* franchise never reached the heights of Skywalker mania. It was just (just!) a trilogy that both tapped the innocent vigor of old B-movie serials and turned them into sophisticated thrill machines. *Raiders* and its progeny were fun without being facetious; they moved with the speed and power of an Indy right hook, relentlessly piling one cool action trope on another. And at their heart was a hero who wore his machismo lightly, whether he was ending a face-off with a saber-wielding villain by shooting him or coping with his mortal fear of snakes.

O.K., back in the '80s, everybody was younger, except for today's prime movie audience, which hadn't yet been born. Trying to catch the old lightning is a daunting challenge for the series' producer, George Lucas (now 64); its director, Steven Spielberg (61); and its star, Harrison Ford (65). They acknowledge as much in an early *Crystal Skull* scene, when Indy and his sometime pal Mac (Ray Winstone) come up against a convoy of tough Russians. "This ain't gonna be easy," Mac says, and Indy replies, "Not as easy as it used to be."

We're in Nevada in 1957, a time of rock 'n' roll (Elvis' *Hound Dog* is on the sound track), greasy-haired juvenile delinquents (including the main new character, Shia LaBeouf's Mutt Williams), commie-phobia (and why not? The Soviets have just penetrated a U.S. military base), fear of the Bomb (hmm, what's that mushroom cloud on the horizon?) and mass sightings of UFOs (coming soon to an archaeological dig near you).

Point blank *Comrade Irina (Blanchett) has a plan to brainwash Indy—and all America*

The Red Menace first. Khrushchev banging his shoe at the U.N. is fine for newsreels, but Spielberg and Lucas (and screenwriters David Koepp and Jeff Nathanson) have something sexier in mind: Irina Spalko, played by Cate Blanchett with a feline purr and the fabulous posture of military-movie villains. Irina wants to cloud American minds by getting access to a secret technology that is concealed either in the Area 51 warehouse where *Crystal Skull* begins or in the remotest jungle mountains of Peru during the film's last hour. "We will change you, Mr. Jones," she proclaims. "We will turn you into us."

Practical Magic

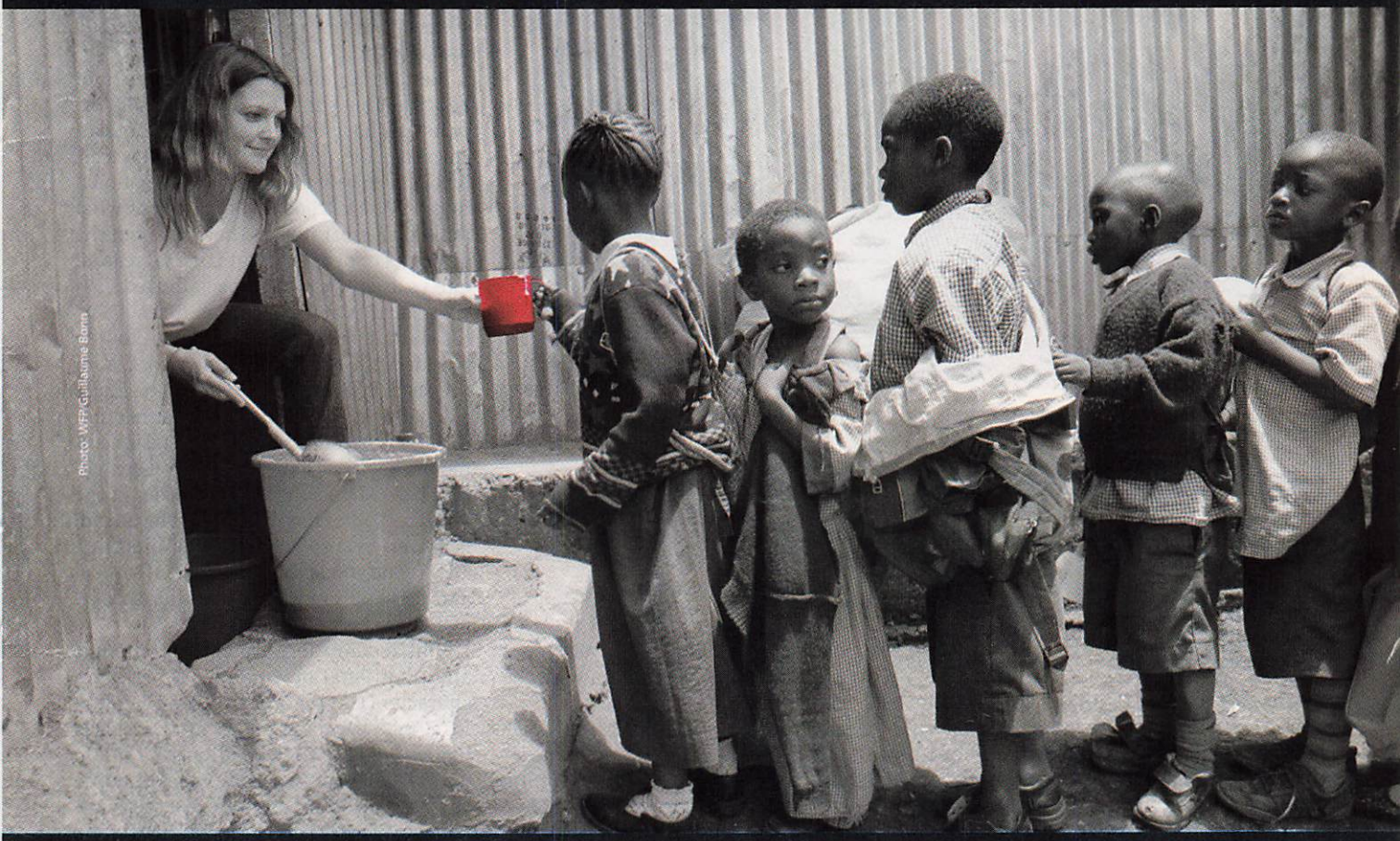
IN A MOVIE INTENDED AS A CLASS REUNION, Indy has to bring a wife-equivalent: his gal pal from *Raiders*, Marion Ravenwood (Karen Allen, still brandishing that mile-wide smile). Her son Mutt is a young Indy manqué; he has discipline issues, but you can be sure he'll work them out, since he's the designated hero of whatever further sequels Lucas has in mind. LaBeouf, an intelligent actor without an ounce of charisma, will be hard put to replace the original, iconic Indy. Ford looks just fine, his chest tanned to a rich, Corinthian leather; he is still lithe on his feet and can deliver a wisecrack as sharp as a whip crack. Indeed, he seems sprightlier than much of the movie. There are scenes that play like stretching exercises at the retirement home; there are garrulous passages while Indy translates runic inscriptions; even the title seems a few words too long. It takes about an hour for *Crystal Skull* to deliver on its promise of chic, robust, familiar entertainment.

There are scenes that play like stretching exercises at the retirement home; even the title seems a few words too long

Indy films usually begin with a bang and end in scenes of gross-out mysticism, but the coolest thing here comes in the middle: a high-speed two-vehicle battle between Indy's team and Irina's goons that's up there with the *Raiders* Jeep sequence; it's certainly more complex and audacious in its engineering of physical action. In his press conference at Cannes, Spielberg said, "I believe in practical magic, not digital magic," and in "real stunts with real people." These stunts are real good.

Too often, though, the project is lulling and mechanical. Lucas may want the series to extend to *Indy* 500, but this time the filmmakers are less like a crack racing team and more like a '50s pop group, the Platters or the Drifters, reconvened to sing their hits at a PBS oldies concert. They mime their classic choreography—and may cheat on the high notes—but it's a treat just to see them trying. That's the instant movie nostalgia of *Crystal Skull*. It's got the old airs and familiar faces and works up a commendable sweat. All that's missing is the magic. ■

my dream



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Island getaway *On May 29,* Lost's *cast, including Fox, center, seeks to top last year's finale*

TELEVISION

Less *Lost* Is More. How TV's most entertaining mystery gained new life—by planning its own demise

BY JAMES PONIEWOZIK

THE PRODUCERS OF *LOST* HAVE FOUND THE secret to resuscitating a great TV show: make less of it. Last year, in the middle of a third season that was criticized by fans as slow and aimless, they proposed to end the hit show after three more seasons of 16 episodes each, six or so fewer than a typical TV-drama season. ABC, stunningly, agreed, though it had the contractual right to frog-march the lucrative property ahead for as many seasons as it liked.

Plotting its own demise was *Lost's* best innovation yet. Some big-network hits, like *Mary Tyler Moore* and *Seinfeld,* have gone out on top but not with an end planned years in advance. Others limp to the finish; next season is the last for *ER,* which began airing back when physicians used leeches to drain the body of ill humors.

But *Lost,* whose Season 4 finale airs May 29, is not like a sitcom or a doctor soap. An elaborate sci-fi/fantasy thriller about plane-crash survivors stranded on an island, it has told a single, wildly complicated story involving—deep breath—time travel, conspiracies, a monster made of smoke, a utopian experiment gone bad, ghosts, polar bears in the tropics, philosophy, metaphysics and a mystical set of numbers that may have to do with the end of the world.

As such, it was vulnerable to the *X-Files* syndrome: a complex story vamps aimlessly, adding shaggy-dog tales and swapping out stars for years too long. ABC's decision—which made the show more like a limited-run British series or *The Sopranos*—freed *Lost* to launch an endgame. In last season's finale, the show threw in a mind-blowing twist, jumping forward in time to reveal that several characters made it off the island. The move expanded the canvas yet pointed to a conclusion and made the series compelling again.

Then the writers' strike hit. Season 4, which debuted to fans' and critics' raves, had to pause after eight episodes and cut two of its planned hours. Disaster, right? Wrong. Early seasons of *Lost* tended to get slack and digressive in the middle.

Redemption depends on change. Traditional TV depends on characters staying the same until the ratings give out

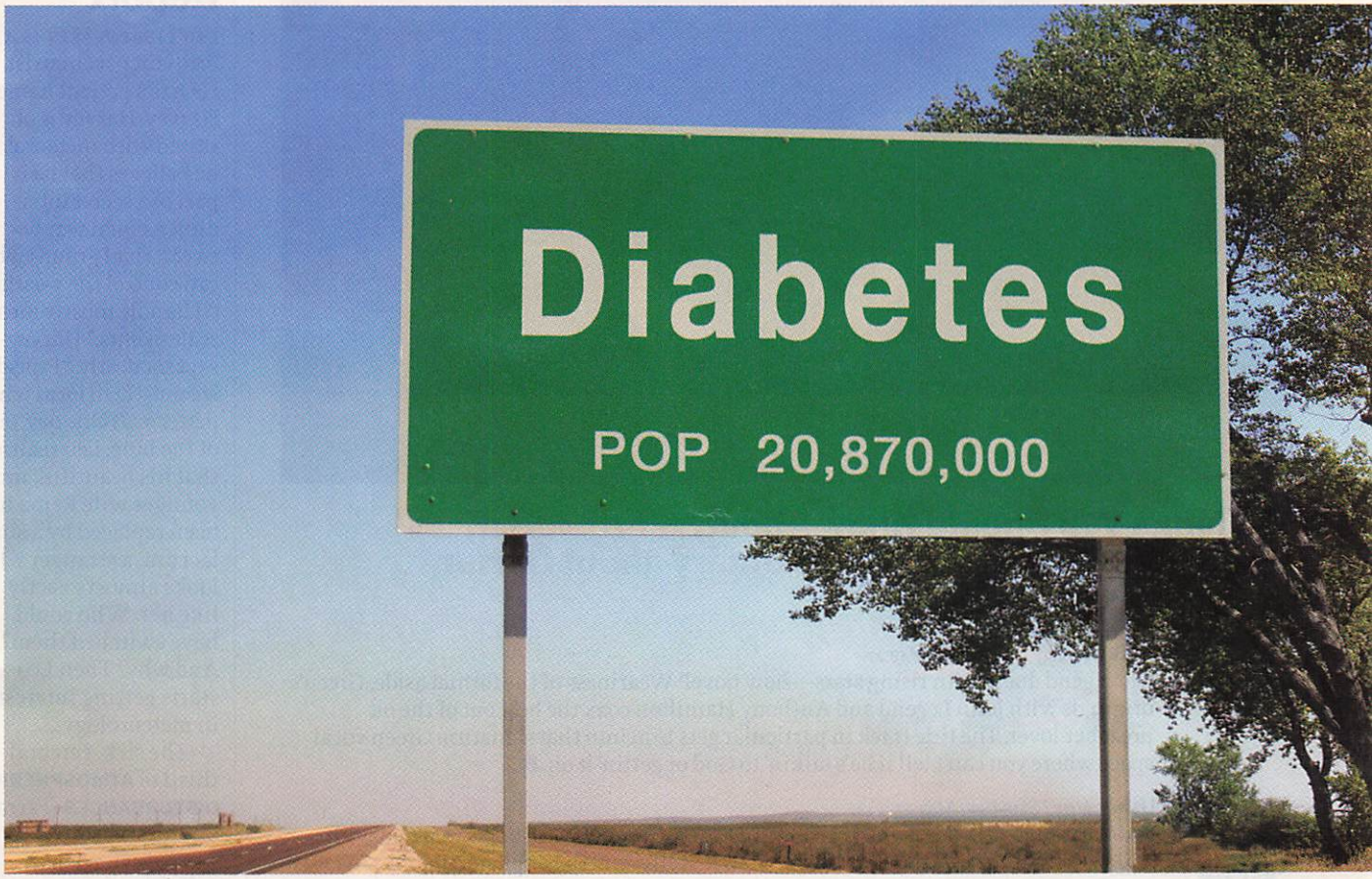
At nearly half the length of previous seasons, this one couldn't afford to. It was focused and propulsive, hurtling the action forward on the island (where the survivors have been found by "rescuers" of murderous intent) while revealing new dimensions to the characters in the flash-forwards to the future (where we learn that six castaways escaped, at a yet unspecified moral cost).

Setting an end date has obvious plot benefits. In a show with a finite run, actions can have consequences, major characters can die, questions can be answered. But it's even better for the show's emotional impact. *Lost* is a good sci-fi yarn, but what makes it a great story is that it is about the struggles of people: about faith vs. reason, fate vs. free will and, especially, redemption. Jack (Matthew Fox) is haunted by his relationship with his father—literally haunted, as Dad may have come back from the dead. Locke (Terry O'Quinn) balances his faith, which gives him a connection to the mystical island, with a lifetime of having been lied to by loved ones. Even villain Ben (Michael Emerson), leader of the cultlike "Others" who inhabit the island, is driven by a twisted sense of morality. "We're the good guys," he's fond of saying, and *Lost* holds out the possibility that he just might become one.

But redemption depends on change, and traditional network TV depends on characters staying more or less the same for as many years as it takes for the ratings to give out. The time-bending sci-fi premise in *Lost*—certain characters become "unstuck in time" and can re-experience past events in their lives—dramatizes a human dilemma: Can you change your future, or are you fated to make the same mistakes forever? In a meta-way, that's the dilemma of traditional TV characters, who are damned to repeat the same patterns, trip over the same ottomans, forever. The revitalized *Lost* has offered them an out.

And it may just offer a way forward for TV. It may seem insane for ABC to leave money on the table by limiting *Lost* to six seasons. But *Lost* is a series that harnesses intense interest—for instance, to sell millions of DVDS because fans want to watch the complex episodes repeatedly. In an era of smaller audiences, networks need programs that can monetize a devoted fan base. But that requires assuring the fans—as limiting *Lost's* run has done—that they won't be jerked around forever. TV may be an excessive medium, but the brilliant, groundbreaking *Lost* may just show it that quality can beat quantity. ■

MARIO PEREZ—ABC



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Downtime

5 Things You Should Know About. A President, a preacher man and a documentary about Darfur

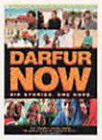
MUSIC

Al Green *Lay It Down; out May 27*
Old-legend duets with rising stars—how novel! Weariness of the format aside, Green's originals with John Legend and Anthony Hamilton coax the best out of the ole preacher-lover. The title track in particular gets him into that signature Green vocal space where you can't tell if he's talkin' to God or gettin' it on. **B**

Usher *Here I Stand; out May 27*
Four years ago, he released a great cheating song *(Yeah)*. Now Usher is married with child, but that hasn't killed his libido: from R. Kelly–worthy euphemisms ("I can't wait to deliver you like a FedEx box") to straight-out begging, he's still talking about sex, ba-by. But sex without melody and with few addictive hooks is kind of a grind. **C+**

DVDS

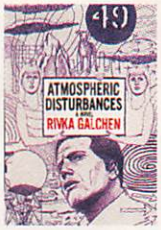
John Adams *Out June 10*
Toward the end of this series, the aging Adams (Paul Giamatti) frets that history will overlook him. For a good 200 years, he was pretty much right. But this engrossing, detail-rich adaption of David McCullough's bio—and Giamatti's portrayal of Adams' dogged, blunt honesty—brings the second President, and his period's ideas, to feisty, fiery life. **A-**



Darfur Now *Directed by Ted Braun; rated PG; out May 27*
Bless Don Cheadle and George Clooney for raising awareness of the slaughter in Sudan, but the true stars of this worthy documentary are people like Hejewa Adam, whose village was ravaged by the invaders and who has taken up arms to fight them. As the world commiserates impotently, the Sudanese prove that every tragedy has its heroes. **B+**

MOVIES

War, Inc. *Directed by Joshua Seftel; written by John Cusack, Mark Leyner and Jeremy Pikser; rated R; out now*
Here's a great excuse to call up your old liberal pals and relive that dreamy time when war as business was an idea worth satirizing. For further old-school fun, the film features Cusack as a hit man with a vocabulary, as well as Joan Cusack and Dan Aykroyd. Some of the missiles hit their mark (like the tanks with ads on them), but the targets are huge. **B-**



DEBUT NOVEL

The Whether Report

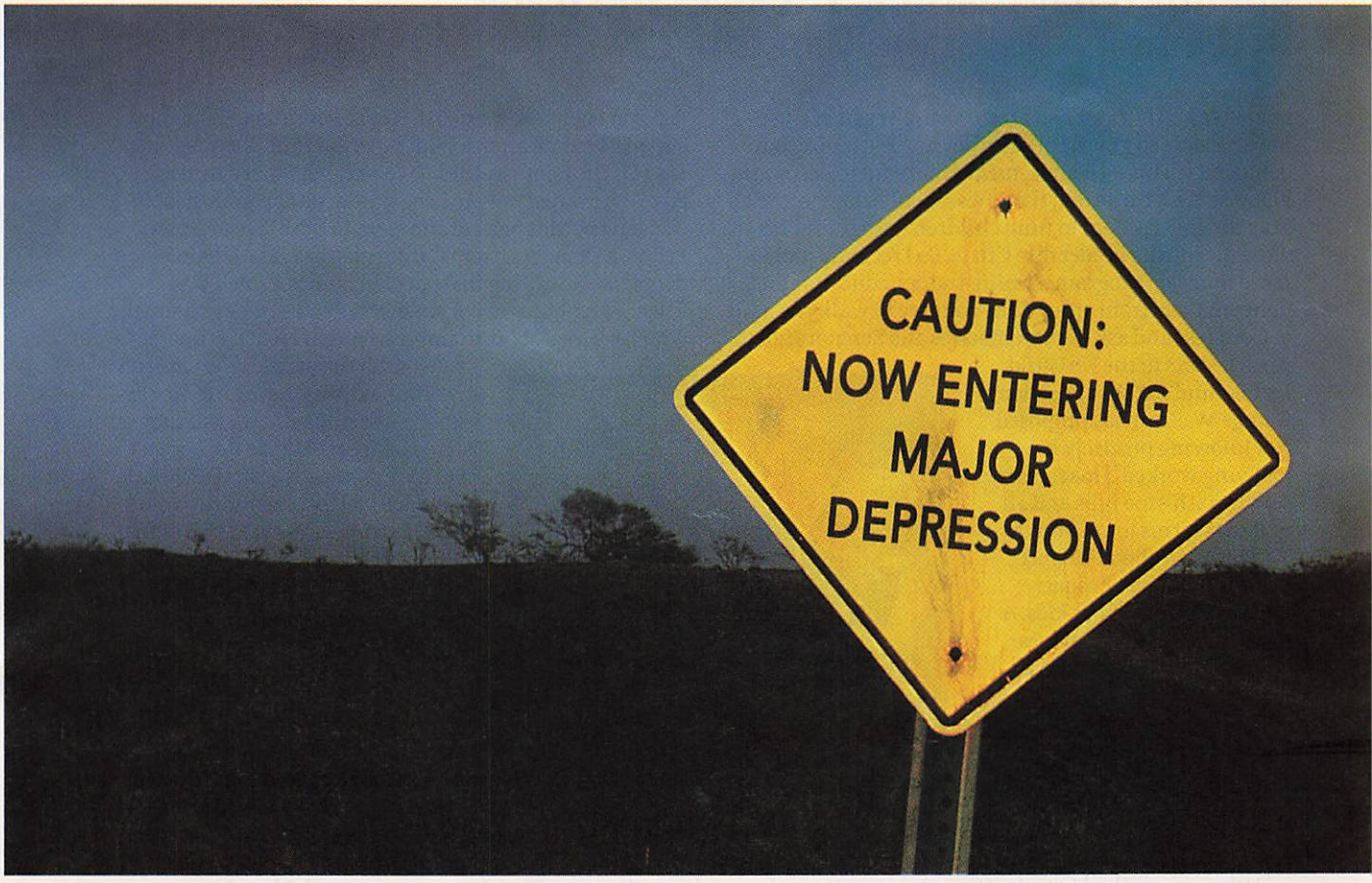
LEO LIEBENSTEIN IS A brilliant psychiatrist. He has a patient named Harvey. Harvey is obsessed with meteorology: he believes that he is part of a secret interdimensional war between rival groups who can control the weather. ("I handle mostly mesoscale events," Harvey says modestly. "I specialize mostly in local wind patterns.") One day, out of the blue, Leo realizes that his beautiful, much younger wife Rema has been replaced by a simulacrum, a stranger who looks almost exactly like her. Who could have switched them? And why? Then Leo starts getting interested in meteorology ...

The sick, cerebral thrill of **ATMOSPHERIC DISTURBANCES** (Farrar, Straus & Giroux; 241 pages), a dense, fractally complex first novel by the conspicuously talented Rivka Galchen, lies in watching a shrink, one of the trusted guardians of consensus reality, drift out of his lane and into oncoming traffic. Over and over again, Leo's finely calibrated mind analyzes the available data and arrives by the most rigorously logical methods at a series of increasingly demented conclusions. Which makes you realize, queasily, how worthless those methods were in the first place.

—BY LEV GROSSMAN

ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY SEAN MCCABE; CHEADLE: JEMAL COUNTESS—WIREIMAGE

By Richard Corliss, Belinda Luscombe, James Poniewozik and Josh Tyrangiel



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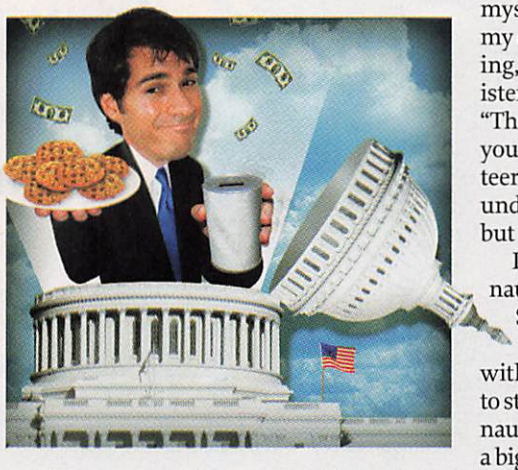
Joel
Stein

Confessions of a Lobbyist. Our reporter spends a day learning tricks of the trade in the hallways of the Capitol

LOBBYISTS, THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES TELL US, have become so powerful that they are destroying our democracy. This, of course, makes me want to become a lobbyist. As it turns out, the Afterschool Alliance, which asks the government to fund children's programs, invited me into its Leadership Circle. So I recently joined more than 500 program administrators, educators and policymakers from around the country to walk the halls of Congress and ask Representatives and Senators not to pass the cuts to the No Child Left Behind Act that President George W. Bush has proposed. Not knowing precisely how lobbying worked, I loaded myself up with $100 bills and all of *Roget's* terms for *prostitute.*



The Afterschool Alliance had a far better technique: tons of supercute poor kids. A day before we hit the offices of almost 200 congressional members, we sat through an afternoon of PowerPoint-filled workshops at the Grand Hyatt Washington hotel to learn lots of stats. These all seemed boring, so I suggested we dress the kids up like street urchins from a Dickens novel and give them dented tin cups.

When we walked into the Capitol, we were not the only ones lobbying. Members of the Alzheimer's Association, which had also been holding seminars at the Grand Hyatt, were walking around with Alzheimer's sashes around their chests, as if they had entered some pageant years ago and had forgotten to take them off. The hallways looked like the set of a Marx Brothers movie, with lobbyists running back and forth in their uniforms: pilots, veterans, real estate agents, guys from the egg producers making omelets.

I was assigned to lobby with the Afterschool Alliance delegation from Harris County, Texas, which consisted of 17 local education officials, 10 kids and a paid, professional political consultant. We walked into the office of Chet Edwards, a Democratic Congressman from Waco who declared himself completely on our side. That, however, did not stop the PowerPointed kids. "The peak time we do a lot of crimes is 3 to 6," said Maria Cruz, 11.

We headed to the office of Democratic Representative Sheila Jackson Lee, who talked about herself for two minutes, mentioned Alzheimer's and took a photo with the kids. The lobbying, it seemed, was up to me. I followed Jackson Lee as she went to a House vote and told her how super-awesome after-school programs are. She suggested I lay off the happy stories: "We only get moved by tragedy." I regretted not pushing harder on the urchin look.

I left the kids behind and went to the office of Anna Eshoo, a Democrat from California. Several Alzheimer's people were waiting in front of her office, which was filled with photos of her posing with other Congressmen, which seemed about as impressive as if I had pictures of myself with the people who work on my office hallway. As I started lobbying, she interrupted, "Are you a registered lobbyist?" No, I said, I wasn't. "Then you're an advocate. Don't call yourself a lobbyist. Advocates volunteer. Lobbyists get paid." I still didn't understand the precise difference, but I knew I'd rather be a lobbyist.

I then met with Flip McConnaughey, chief of staff for Wyoming Senator Michael Enzi. I remembered from my training that with Republicans, I was supposed to stress crime prevention. McConnaughey said Wyoming didn't have a big gang problem. I told him it was possible that L.A. gangs could get wind of that market vacuum and send kids to carjack around Jackson Hole from 3 to 6. "You should stick to magazine work," he told me.

I met next with LaRochelle Young, a policy adviser for Kansas Republican Senator Sam Brownback. Knowing the Senator's antiabortion views, I told the aide that kids who go to after-school programs don't get abortions. Her eyes lit up, and she asked me for statistics. "One hundred percent," I said. This didn't seem like the right answer. So I tried 78%. She looked up from the pad she was writing on. "Whatever sounds good," I said. She stopped writing.

My last stop: Maine Republican Senator Olympia Snowe, who was receptive. I suggested she could get Brownback to join her on the Afterschool Caucuses—an official group of 81 Representatives and 36 Senators—by mumbling the word *abortion* and telling him there were free milk and cookies. I had known Brownback when he was running for President, and his campaign finances were pretty bare. "I'll find the best bakery in town," she said. "You gave me a good tip. That's good advocating."

Helping children and scoring Brownback food didn't give me the democracy-destroying rush I'd expected. In fact, I felt engaged with democracy. And more sure than ever that I don't want to be a member of Congress. ■

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